

UTOPIA:
CONTAINING AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF THE
MANNERS, CUSTOMS, POLITY, GOVERN-
MENT, &c. OF THAT ISLAND.

WRITTEN IN LATIN
BY SIR THOMAS MORE,
CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND;

And interspersed with many important Articles of Secret
History, relating to the State of the British Nation.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH
By GILBERT BURNET, late Bishop of Sarum;

TO THIS EDITION IS ADDED,
AN ACCOUNT OF
SIR THOMAS MORE's LIFE.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR D. I. EATON, AT THE COCK AND SWINE,
NO. 74, NEWGATE-STREET.

MDCCLXV.

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MANNERS, CUSTOMS, POLITY, GOVERNMENT, &c. OF THAT ISLAND.

WRITTEN IN LATIN

BY SIR THOMAS MORE.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

And interpreted into English by
GILBERT BURNET, late Bishop of Salisbury.



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PRINTED FOR D. BARNES, AT THE COCK AND BOWNE,
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MDCCLXXV.

THE
AUTHOR'S EPISTLE
TO
PETER GILES.

I AM almost ashamed, my dearest Peter Giles, to send you this Book of the Utopian Common-Wealth, after almost a year's delay ; when you no doubt looked for it in six weeks : for as you are sensible that I had no occasion to make use of my invention, or to take pains to put things into a method, because I had nothing to do, but to repeat exactly what I heard Raphael relate in your presence ; so a studied elegance of expression would have been here unnecessary. Since as he delivered things to us of the sudden, and in a careless style ; he being, you know, a greater master of the Greek, than of the Latin ; the plain-er my words are, they will the better resemble his simplicity, and will consequently be nearer to the truth. This is all that I think lies on me, and the only thing in which I thought myself concerned : I confess that I had here very little left for me to do ; for the invention and ordering of such a scheme would have cost a man, whose ca-

capacity and learning was of the ordinary standard, some pains and time. But if it had been necessary, that this relation should have been not only consistent with truth, but expressed with elegance, it could never have been performed by me, even after all the pains and time that I could have bestowed upon it. My part in it was so very small, that it could not give me much trouble, all that belonged to me being only to give a true and full account of the things that I had heard : but though this required so very little of my time, yet even that little was long denied me by my other affairs, which press much upon me : for while in pleading, and hearing, in judging or composing of causes, in waiting on some men upon business, and on others out of respect, the greatest part of the day is spent on other men's affairs, the remainder of it must be given to my family at home : so that I can reserve no part of it to myself, that is, to my study : I must talk with my wife, and chat with my children, and I have somewhat to say to my servants : all these things I reckon as a part of business, except a man will resolve to be a stranger at home ; for with whomsoever either nature, chance, or choice has engaged a man, in any commerce, he must endeavour to make himself as acceptable to those about him, as he possibly can ; using still such a temper, that he may not spoil them by an excessive gentleness, so that his servants may not become his masters. In such things as these, days, months, and years slip away ; what is then left for writing ? And yet I have said nothing of that time that must go for sleep, or for meat : in which many waste almost as much of their time, as in sleep, which consumes very near the

the half of our life ; and indeed all the time which I can gain to myself, is that which I steal from my sleep and my meals ; and because that is not much, I have made but a slow progress ; yet as it is somewhat, I have at last got to an end of my Utopia, which I now send to you, and expect that after you have read it, you will let me know if you can put me in mind of any thing that has escaped me ; for though I would think myself very happy, if I had but as much invention and learning as I know I have memory, which makes me generally depend much upon it, yet I do not rely so entirely on it, as to think I can forget nothing.

My servant, John Clement, has started some things that shake me : you know he was present with us, as I think he ought to be, at every conversation that may be of use to him ; for I promise myself great matters from the progress he has so early made in the Greek and Roman learning. As far as my memory serves me, the bridge over Anider at Amaurot, was, according to Raphael's account, five hundred paces broad ; but John assures me, he spoke only of three hundred paces ; therefore, pray recollect what you can remember of this, for if you agree with him, I will believe that I have been mistaken ; but if you remember nothing of it, I will not alter what I have written, because it is according to the best of my remembrance : for as I will take care that there may be nothing falsely set down, so if there is any thing doubtful, though I may perhaps tell a lie, yet I am sure I will not make one ; for I would rather pass for a good man than for a wise one : but it will
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be easy to correct this mistake, if you can either meet with Raphael himself, or know how to write to him.

I have another difficulty that presses me more, and makes your writing to him the more necessary: I know not whom I ought to blame for it, whether Raphael, you, or myself; for as we did not think of asking it, so neither did he of telling us, in what part of the new world Utopia is situated; this was such an omission, that I would gladly redeem it at any rate: I am ashamed, that after I have told so many things concerning this island, I cannot let my readers know in what sea it lies. There are some among us that have a mighty desire to go thither, and in particular, one pious divine is very earnest upon it, not so much out of a vain curiosity of seeing unknown countries, as that he may advance our religion, which is so happily begun to be planted there; and that he may do this regularly, he intends to procure a mission from the pope, and to be sent thither as their bishop. In such a case as this, he makes no scruple of aspiring to that character, but thinks such ambition meritorious, while actuated solely by a pious zeal; he desires it only as the means of advancing the Christian religion, and not for any honour or advantage that may accrue to himself. Therefore I earnestly beg, that if you can possibly meet with Raphael, or if you know how to write to him, you will be pleased to inform yourself of these things, that there may be no falshood left in my book, nor any important truth wanting. And perhaps it will not be unfit to let him see the book itself: for as no man can correct any errors that may be in it, so well as he, so by reading it

It he will be able to give a more perfect judgment of it, than he can do upon any discourse concerning it: and you will be likewise able to discover whether this undertaking of mine is acceptable to him or not; for if he intends to write a relation of his travels, perhaps he will not be pleased that I should prevent him, in that part that belongs to the Utopian Commonwealth; since, if I should do so, his book will not surprize the world with the pleasure which this new discovery will give the age. And I am so little fond of appearing in print upon this occasion, that if he dislikes it, I will lay it aside; and even though he should approve of it, I am not positively determined as to the publishing it. Men's tastes differ much; some are of so morose a temper, so sour a disposition, and make such absurd judgments of things, that men of cheerful and lively tempers, who indulge their genius, seem much more happy than those who waste their time and strength in order to publishing a book, which, though of itself it might be useful or pleasant, yet, instead of being well received, will be sure to be either laughed at, or censured. Many know nothing of learning, and others despise it: a man that is accustomed to a coarse and harsh style, thinks every thing is rough that is not barbarous. Our trifling pretenders to learning, think all is slight that is not dressed up in words that are worn out of use; some love only old things, and many like nothing but what is their own. Some are so sour that they can allow no jests, and others so dull that they can endure nothing that is sharp; while others are as much afraid of any thing gay and lively, as a man bit with a mad dog is of water; others

others are so light and unsettled, that their thoughts change as quick as they do their postures: some again, when they meet in taverns, take upon them among their cups to pass censures very freely on all writers; and, with a supercilious liberty, to condemn every thing they do not like: in which they have an advantage, like that of a bald man, who can catch hold of another by the hair, while the other cannot return the like upon him. They are safe as it were from gun-shot, since there is nothing in them solid enough to be taken hold of. Others are so unthankful, that even when they are well pleased with a book, yet they think they owe nothing to the author; and are like those rude guests, who, after they have been well entertained at a good dinner, when they have glutted their appetites, go away without so much as thanking him that treated them. But who would put himself to the charge of making a feast for men of such nice palates, and so different tastes; who are so forgetful of the civilities that are paid them? But do you once clear those points with Raphael, and then it will be time enough to consider whether it be fit to publish it or not; for since I have been at the pains to write it, if he consents to its being published, I will follow my friends advice, and chiefly your's. Farewell, my dear Peter, commend me kindly to your good wife, and love me still as you used to do, for I assure you I love you daily more and more.

LIFE

L I F E
O F
SIR THOMAS MORE.

NO true patriot, no lover of humanity, can be totally indifferent to the history of that amiable and virtuous hero of political honesty, that bold-opposer of prerogative in the British Senate, who, while yet denominated a beardless boy, stemmed alone the mighty torrent of royal omnipotence, though he might easily have commanded the favour of a Court; and who, after having passed his life in advocating the rights of man, fell a cheerful victim to his probity, his patriotism, and his virtue; or rather to the lawless ambition of a savage despot.

Sir Thomas More, only son of Sir John More, Knight, one of the Judges of the King's-Bench, was born in Milk-street, London, in the year 1480. He first went to a school at St. Anthony's in Threadneedle-street, and was

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afterwards introduced, on account of his promising talents, into the family of Cardinal John Moreton, who in 1497 sent him to Canterbury College, Oxford. He there was under the tuition of Lynacre, and attended Grocinus's lectures on the Greek language, in which it is said he soon very much excelled.

Having made a considerable proficiency, during two years residence, in various branches of academical learning, he came to New Inn, London, at nineteen years of age, to study the law. And having some time after removed to Lincoln's-Inn, of which his father was a member, he was at length called to the bar.

But neither a liberal education, as scholastic learning is falsely called, nor brilliant talents; neither virtue nor good sense, were in that age of ecclesiastic slavery and despotic oppression, sufficient to free his unsuspecting youth from the trammels of bigotry and superstition, with which the hypocrisy of the priesthood had learned, under the mask of religion, to subdue mankind. He even submitted to the severity of monkish discipline, wore a hair shirt next his skin, frequently fasted, and often slept on a bare plank.

At the age of twenty-one Mr. More became a Member of the House of Commons; and about two years after he had taken his seat, in 1503, very much distinguished himself, by opposing a demand of a subsidy and three-fifteenths, for the marriage of Henry VII.'s eldest daughter Margaret, to the King of Scotland. Though many of the members were so weak and so corrupt, as to be deterred from their duty by the apprehension of the King's displeasure, Mr.

More

More opposed the motion with so much force and eloquence, that it was at length rejected.

As soon as this vote was thrown out, Mr. Tyler one of the King's Privy Council, informed his Majesty that a beardless boy had defeated his purpose. The King was highly incensed at the disappointment of his wishes, but as young More had nothing to lose, he revenged himself by sending his father to the Tower for a pretended offence, and keeping him in close confinement till he consented to pay £100 for his liberty.

Mr. More having soon after received information, from his friend Mr. Whiteford, Chaplain to Bishop Fox, that the Court were laying snares for him, probably by the means of *spies and informers*, determined to decline the practice of the law, and visit the Continent. He therefore applied to the study of French, and made himself master of most of the liberal sciences; paying particular attention to perfect his knowledge of history. In his leisure hours he seems to have relaxed his mind by music, being a very good performer on the violin. But meeting with no further disturbance, he abandoned his intention of leaving his native country.

As soon as Mr. More had put on the gown, he read public lectures in St. Lawrence's Church, on St. Augustine's treatise de Civitate Dei, with great applause. He was then appointed law-reader in Furnival's-Inn, and held that place about three years. After which he took lodgings near the Charter-House, and joined in all the religious exercises of that society, but without engaging in any vow. He even formed a design of burying his

talents and virtues, by becoming a Franciscan friar¹, and embracing the order of priesthood. But he was fortunately dissuaded from that design; and after four years spent in these futile austerities, married, by the advice of Dr. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's and founder of the school, Jane, the eldest daughter of John Colt Esq. of Newhall in Essex. And having settled his family in Bucklersbury, he attended his profession at his chambers in Lincoln's-Inn, till he was called to the bench.

Mr. More's delicacy towards the feelings of others, and the disinterestedness of his character, extended even to his choice of a companion for life. For though he felt a predilection for the second daughter, he was induced to offer his hand to the eldest, by the pain he apprehended he might otherwise give her.

In 1508, about a year before Henry VIII. came to the throne, Mr. More was appointed Judge of the Sheriff's Court, in the city of London, and was made a Justice of the Peace. He became so eminent at the bar, as to be retained in almost every important cause, and though he only undertook such as his conscience approved, and never took fees of widows, orphans, or persons in poor circumstances, he acquired an estate of £400 per annum, which at that time was very considerable.

The laborious duties of his profession did not, however, prevent his literary talents from enlightening mankind. For during this active part of his life, in the year 1516, he published his immortal * EUTOPIA, of which the
merit

* Etymology not being attended to in the time of Sir Thomas More, so much as it deserves, he omitted the letter E in the name of his republic. Or rather

merit was so manifest, that it was *very soon* translated into French, Dutch and Italian. And many learned men were so pleased with the descriptions it contains, of the climate institutions and manners of Eutopia, and so little suspected that it was only a philosophical fiction, that they were desirous of having some priests sent thither, in order to preach Christianity, and even projected making the voyage themselves: forgetting, that to adopt the system of religion, to which Constantine first gave that name, would have destroyed those very advantages, which Eutopia boasted above other countries.

Before Mr. More entered into the King's immediate service, he had been twice employed, with his Majesty's consent, as agent for the English merchants, in some considerable disputes between them and the merchants of the Steelyard. And the same year that the Eutopia was published, (1516) he went to Flanders in the suite of Bishop Tonstal and Dr. Knight, who were sent by Henry VIII. to renew his alliance with the Archduke of Austria, afterwards Charles V.

On his return, Cardinal Wolsey would have engaged Mr. More in the service of the Crown, and offered him a *pension*. But this he honestly refused. And appearing in the Star-Chamber, a few years after, as an advocate against the Crown, he recovered for the Pope, a ship, which having put into Southampton, was in defiance of good faith, claimed as a forfeiture by the King. This

rather perhaps, he omitted that letter, the better to conceal the fiction, at a period when truth was dangerous. In either case the etymology may be now restored, and we shall accordingly correct it, wherever accuracy permits.

new display of abilities was a further inducement for the Court to wish for his services ; and though More had done what every honest man ever will, refused a gratuitous pay, he accepted the place of Master of the Requests, which for want of a better vacancy, was now offered him. For, as one of his biographers informs us, no entreaty could prevail on the King to dispense with his services. A month after this, he was made Knight and Privy Counsellor ; and on the death of Mr. Weston, the following year, (1520) Treasurer of the Exchequer. To this office, as well as his preceding honours, he was raised without any solicitation on his own part. He now built a house on the banks of the Thames, at Chelsea, and married a second wife, whose name was Middleton ; an old, ill-tempered and covetous widow. Yet Erasmus informs us, he was as fond of her as if she were a young maid.

And here it is requisite to justify this virtuous character from the imputation of a priest. Burnet observes (in his preface to the *Eutopia* and *Life of More*, Oxford, 1751, 12mo. p. x.) that “ the earnestness with which he recommends the precaution used in marriages among the “ Eutopians, makes one think that he had a misfortune in “ his own choice ; for the strictness of his own life covers “ him from severe censures.” But the testimony of his cotemporary and most intimate friend Erasmus, is sufficient to prove that in his domestic conduct, he was not liable even to the slightest blame, and to convict the Bishop, who wrote above a century and a half after him, of error. The true object of the passage alluded to, was as Sir
Thomas

Thomas himself explains it (part 2. chap. on bondmen, &c.) that a law should be made, "whereby all deceits might be eschewed and avoided beforehand," in lieu of being remedied afterwards: because, "the easy hopes of a new marriage break love between man and wife."

But nothing can so strongly prove the Bishop's mistake, or the worth of Sir Thomas More in his private as well as public character, as the picture of his manners drawn by Erasmus. "More," says he, "has built near London, and on the Thames, such a commodious house as is neither mean nor subject to envy, yet sufficiently magnificent. There he converses affably with his wife, his son and daughter-in-law, his three daughters and their husbands, with eleven grand-children. No man living is so affectionate to his children as he. He loves his old wife as well as if she were young; and such is the excellence of his temper, that whatever happens which could not be helped, he bears as well as if nothing more fortunate could have happened. Were you in that place, you would say you beheld Plato's academy. But I do the house an injury to compare it to Plato's academy, where there were only disputations on numbers and geometrical figures, and sometimes on the moral virtues. I should rather call his house a school of Christian religion; for there is no one in it but reads or studies the liberal sciences. Their special care is piety and virtue. There is no quarrelling or intemperate words heard, no one is seen idle. Which household discipline that worthy gentleman doth govern, not by proud and lofty words, but with kind and courteous

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"benevolence.

“ benevolence. All perform their duty, yet there is always
 “ alacrity ; and sober mirth is not wanting.”

Mr. More's talents were now so well known, that his correspondence was desired by most of the learned men of that age. Erasmus in particular seems to have enjoyed the greatest share in his friendship, although at the beginning of their correspondence they were not personally acquainted. Indeed their first interview was such as to furnish a pleasant anecdote.

Erasmus coming to England, partly to pay a visit to More, it was contrived that before they were introduced to each other, they should meet at the Lord Mayor's table; which in those days was constantly open to men of learning and eminence. At dinner they fell into an argument, during which Erasmus, feeling the keenness of his antagonist's wit, exclaimed with warmth, in Latin: “ Thou art More or nobody:” to which the latter replied in the same language, “ Thou art Erasmus or the “ devil.”

With all the talents requisite for public business, Sir Thomas was remarkably formed for the sweets of domestic retirement. Thence it was that he became the particular and intimate *friend* of Henry ; and thence he grew tired of the Court, and slighted the friendship of his Majesty. For the King having once experienced this engaging part of his character, became remarkably fond of his company ; and when he had performed his devotions on holidays, he used to send for Sir Thomas into his closet. He there conversed with him on astronomy geometry divinity and other learned topics, as well as on public business ; and he frequently

quently took him in the night to the leads, on the top of his house, to observe the motions of the planets. Sir Thomas was indeed so cheerful in his disposition, and possessed so copious a fund of humour and pleasantry, that the King and Queen often ordered him to be sent for after supper, to entertain and amuse them. But this at length became so disagreeably troublesome to Sir Thomas, and so much interfered with the attention he wished to pay his own family, by making him spend almost his whole time in the palace, that he began by degrees to lay aside his facetiousness, and to assume an affected air of gravity, as the only means of liberating himself from the shackles of royal favour.

In 1523, Sir Thomas being made Speaker of the House of Commons, showed an intrepidity then almost unprecedented, in opposing an impudent minister in his unconstitutional attempt at raising supplies. The Cardinal, apprehending some ill humour on the occasion, resolved to be present when the motion was made, and gave notice of his intention to the House. Upon this a warm debate arose, whether they should receive him with a few of his Lords, or with his whole train. The former of these opinions seeming to be most generally adopted, the Speaker thus addressed the House. "Gentlemen," said he, "since my Lord Cardinal hath not long ago laid to our charge, the lightness of our tongues for things spoken out of this House, it will not in my judgment be amiss, to receive him with all his people. For if he should blame us hereafter for the like fault, he may lay it on those whom his Grace shall bring with him." For Wolsey had been much offended by some of the Members divulging the
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the transactions of the House out of doors ; though the Members themselves thought the People had an undoubted right to know, what their servants in the House were doing.

The House being pleased with the humour of the Speaker's proposal, the Cardinal-Minister was received accordingly : but having explained, in a solemn speech, the necessity of granting the object of his demand, and finding none of the Members return any answer, or show the least inclination to comply with his request, he fell into a passion, and with great indignation, said " Gentlemen, " unless it be the manner of the House to express your " sentiments in such cases by your Speaker, your silence " is certainly surprising and obstinate." He then required the Speaker to give an answer, to the request which he had made in the name of the King. On which Sir Thomas More, falling on his knees with great reverence to the Cardinal-Minister, apologized for the silence of the House, as being abashed at the presence of so exalted a personage. He then proceeded to show, that it was not consistent with the ancient liberties of the House, to give an answer to his Majesty's message, but by their Speaker ; and concluded by telling his Eminence, that though he was the voice of the Commons, yet unless every one of them could put his judgment into his head, he alone, in a matter of so great importance and moment, could not pretend to give a suitable answer. This reply highly offended Wolsey, who expected nothing else of the Commons, than an implicit acquiescence in every pecuniary demand, his sagacity invented, or his impudence suggested. The Commons, however,

however, having virtue enough to refuse the registration of the King's decree, for such only could the proposition be called, the Minister suddenly quitted the House.

At that period the funding system not being known, the Minister had a weaker hold, on those who were desirous of living without labour ; nor could he bribe the Members, by making them *partakers* of a usurious contract.

His displeasure was perhaps the greater, as he knew that Sir Thomas had seconded the motion, when first proposed. For though that spirited patriot thought supplies absolutely necessary for carrying on the war, he made a distinction between the reasonable demands of the King, and the violation of parliamentary privileges, by an insolent Minister. It appears therefore that to Wolsey, there was something personal as well as unexpected, in this check.

Sir Thomas being some time afterwards in the Cardinal's gallery at Whitehall, his Eminence complained of his behaviour on the above-mentioned occasion ; saying " Would to God you had been at Rome when I made you Speaker." To which Sir Thomas replied, " Your Grace not offended, I wish I had, I should then have enjoyed the pleasure of seeing a place I have long desired to visit." He then began to praise his gallery, and said he liked it better than the other at Hampton Court. But though this appeased Wolsey in appearance, it did not cool his resentment. For when the Parliament broke up, he Persuaded the King to send Sir Thomas on an embassy to Spain, from which however that gentleman endeavoured to excuse himself, by pleading ill health. His Majesty allowed the justness of his argument, and told him, that

as he meant not to hurt him but render him service, he would think of some other manner of employing his talents : And not long after, on the death of Sir R. Wingfield, Sir Thomas was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, though that was the King's personal patrimony. At the same time he was admitted into so high a degree of favour with the King, that his Majesty sometimes went to his house at Chelsea, without previous notice, in order to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation on common affairs.

On one of these occasions, when the King had paid him an unexpected visit to dinner, he walked with him afterwards near an hour in the garden, with his arm round Sir Thomas's neck. When his Majesty was gone, Mr. Roper, a son-in-law of Sir Thomas, observed how happy he was, to enjoy the favour of his Sovereign in so distinguished a manner. To which Sir Thomas replied, " I thank our Lord, son Roper, I find his Grace to be my very good master indeed, and I believe that he favours me as much as any subject within this kingdom. But yet I must tell thee, son, that I have no cause to be proud of it : for if my head would win him a castle in France (with the King of which country he was then at war) he would not fail to have it struck off my shoulders." A reply, from which it appears, that Sir Thomas well knew his Grace to be a villain.

Of all Henry's servants and favourites, none was treated with more kindness and respect by the King than Sir Thomas More : yet none so well preserved his independence, or was less solicitous to enjoy the smiles of his Sovereign.

vereign. Of this the freedom with which he delivered his opinion, on the unlawfulness of his marriage, is a striking instance. His answer on that occasion does the highest honour to his memory. Clark and Tonstal, Bishops of Bath and Durham, and others of the Privy Council being ordered to consult with the King on that subject, Sir Thomas said, "To be plain with your Grace, neither my Lord of Durham nor my Lord of Bath nor myself nor any of your Privy Council, being all your servants and greatly indebted to your goodness, are in my judgment, proper counsellors for your Grace on this point. But if you are desirous of understanding the truth, you may have counsellors, who neither out of regard to worldly interest, nor through fear of your princely authority, will deceive you:" And then naming Jerome, Austin, and several more of the ancient fathers, he produced a statement of the opinions, he had collected from those authorities.

This freedom did not exclude Sir Thomas from the friendship even of the severe and obstinate Henry. In 1526 he was sent with Cardinal Wolsey and others, on a joint embassy to France, and in 1529 with Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, to negotiate at Cambray, a peace between the Emperor, the King of France, and Henry, in which he proved his diplomatic abilities, by procuring greater advantages for England than were expected. For this and other eminent services, the King on the disgrace of Wolsey in the following year, made him Chancellor;* a favour which appears

* On the 25th of October 1530.

appears the more extraordinary, as he had repeatedly declared his disapprobation of the King's divorce, and was not a man likely to change sides for a place.

In this new employment, Sir Thomas still farther confirmed the opinion generally entertained of his abilities integrity and impartiality. This was rendered the more striking by the conduct of his predecessor Wolfey having been haughty and proud; contemptuous to people of ordinary rank, and inaccessible to any, without a bribe to his servants. But the scene was now entirely reversed; for the new Chancellor was affable to all. The poorer and humbler his suitors, the more attentive and ready was Sir Thomas, to hear their causes and give them redress.

It is said that one of his sons-in-law Mr. Dauncey, found fault with him between jest and earnest, for his great condescension, saying "You are so ready to hear every one, poor as well as rich, that there is no getting any thing under you. Whereas were you otherwise, some for friendship, some for kindred, and some for profit, would gladly have my interest to introduce them. But now I should do them wrong if I took any thing." To which the Chancellor replied, there were many ways in which he could do him good, and give pleasure to his friends. "And be assured of this," added he, "upon my faith, if the parties will call for justice at my hands, then, though my father whom I love so dearly, stood on one side, and the devil whom I detest, on the other, were the cause good, the devil should have it." And he actually made a decree against Mr. Heron, another son-in-law, who presuming on his father's

ther's favour and interest, had rejected a proposal of arbitration. A circumstance which marks the delicacy of the Chancellor, in not prejudging a cause, even where his nearest connections were concerned.

His integrity became still more conspicuous after his fall, even by the malice of his enemies. For at their instigation, one Parnel accused him of receiving a bribe, for making a decree against him, and in favour of his antagonist Vaughan, who gave him a gold cup. Sir Thomas confessed, that as the cup was brought him for a new-year's gift, long after the decree was made, he had not refused it. On this Sir Thomas Boleyn, then Lord Wiltshire, who was the prosecutor, and who hated him for opposing the King's marriage with his daughter, cried out with triumphant exultation, "Lo! my Lords, did I not tell you " that you should find the matter true." But Sir Thomas requested, that as they had heard with indulgence the first part of the tale, they would with equal impartiality attend to the remainder; and declared, "that though after " much solicitation, he had indeed received the cup, and " it was long after the decree was made, yet, after drinking the health of Mrs. Vaughan (who herself presented " it to him), he had obliged her, however reluctantly, to " convey it back to her husband." This was proved by witnesses, to the great confusion of Lord Wiltshire and his other enemies.

On another occasion, when one Graham sent him as a new-year's gift, a beautiful gilt cup, the fashion of which very much pleased him, he ordered one of his own, of more value though inferior in elegance, to be delivered

to the messenger for his master. Nor would he receive the present on any other condition.

With the same integrity, when a Mrs. Goaker presented him with a pair of gloves, containing £40 in angels, he said, "Mistress, since it would be contrary to good manners not to receive your new-year's gift, I accept your gloves, but as for the lining, I utterly refuse it."

Having executed the office of Chancellor with great wisdom and integrity towards the space of three years, he resigned the seals on the 15th of May 1533, probably to avoid the danger of refusing to confirm the King's divorce; a sanction to which transaction, it is thought by some historians, notwithstanding the hopelessness of the project, was the true object of his appointment to that office: and therefore the permission to resign was granted with great reluctance.

In that office no man ever acted more to the satisfaction of the people. His expedition in determining causes was no less remarkable than his integrity. For one day when he called for the next cause, he was answered that there were no more to be heard. Such an event was as rare as the shutting of Janus's temple; Sir Thomas ordered it to be entered on the record.

About the time of his resignation, Sir Thomas lost his father; to whom he had always behaved, and particularly in his last illness, with every mark of affection and filial piety. He was even anxious on all occasions to give him precedence, notwithstanding his own high rank, which his father as constantly refused.

When

When Sir Thomas resigned the great seal, he wrote an apology ; in which he declared, that all the revenues and estates he had by his father, with his wife, or by purchase, did not amount to £50 per annum : which, notwithstanding the difference of value in money, and that the difficulty of living has augmented in proportion to the stupendous increase of inequality in property, must strike the reader as a mere bagatelle, when compared with the emoluments of a modern chancellor, or the gratuities for a *week's* pleading and conspiring, against the life of an honest man.

But so liberal was this excellent man's charity, and so great his christian contempt of riches, that though he had held many important and lucrative offices during a space of more than twenty years, he made no provision either for himself or his family.

Finding therefore that after his resignation, the limited state of his finances would not permit him to live in that splendor, which his rank had hitherto required, he retired to his house at Chelsea, dismissed many of his servants, taking care first to provide them with places to prevent their being reduced to distress on his account, sent his children with their respective families, whom he had hitherto maintained in patriarchal stile, to their own houses, and spent his time after their removal, in study and devotion, on an income which at most, little exceeded £.100 per ann. He resolved never more to engage in public business, but to enjoy in tranquility the sweets of domestic happiness, if the cruel and fickle tyrant, at whose will he held the tenure of his life and all its conveniences, would graciously permit, him, whose friendship he had once culti-

vated, to enjoy the *uncertain* good, in solitary and scanty obscurity. For he felt some presages of the coming storm, and knowing the despot to be a villain, he expected to be treated with rigor, and prepared himself with pious resignation, to meet the fate he had often foretold would destroy him.

The coronation of Ann Boleyn was fixed for the 31st of May 1533, a fortnight after the resignation of the chancellor, to whom a successor was appointed on the twentieth day. Sir Thomas More was invited to be present at the ceremony : but this he declined, as he had not altered his opinion respecting the illegality of queen Catherine's divorce. His sanction was even deemed of great importance, though reduced to a private station. Yet although various means were used to procure it, they all proved equally ineffectual. In the following parliament therefore, a bill was brought into the house of lords, attainting him together with Bishop Fisher and some others, of misprision of treason, for encouraging Elizabeth Barton the nun or holy maid of Kent, a pretended prophetess, in her treasonable practices. This woman having her reason at times disordered by hysterics, and then uttering strange speeches, was supposed to be inspired ; and in consequence of that reputation, was made an instrument by a designing vicar, of declaiming against the king's divorce, and threatening his counsellors. But Sir Thomas's innocence was so apparent, that they were obliged to strike out his name from the bill.

Several other accusations equally groundless, were fabricated with no better success. At length the act which indirectly

indirectly gave the supremacy to the king, and which passed in March 1534, was made the instrument of imprisoning Sir Thomas, as some acts of the next sessions were of sacrificing his life. The oath required by that statute, was tendered to Sir Thomas about a month after the bill passed, and was refused. Upon which, he was first put in custody of the Abbot of Westminster, and four days after, on a second refusal, committed to the Tower.

Sir Thomas was the most unlikely man in the world to take this oath. He was bigotted to the religion of his fathers, but his attachment did not arise from mere hereditary credulity. For he was a virtuous good man, and by such men religious prejudices are the last to be abandoned. As a catholic he must have believed, that the very essence of a religion which demands a head, admits of no other than the lawful head the pope. Had he professed that simple and rational religion which Jesus taught, he would perhaps have equally refused the oath, and asserted that no true christian could properly take it, or that the first principles of that religion marked such a claim with imposture. That a king should be the head of a certain incorporated body of men, in black and white dresses, calling themselves the church, and performing *masonic* rites and futilities in the face of the most high God, he might allow. But to take an oath of this, might still appear to him, a sanction tending to perpetuate a system, whose object was to deceive and enslave the people; and no religious man, whether protestant, catholic, or true christian, who viewed the subject in this light, could voluntarily submit thus to violate his conscience. To leave Henry in quiet possession

possession of these rights, if rights they were, might be prudent, in one who delighted not to contend, with superior force, but every reasonable man, might at least expect to THINK for himself. His conduct therefore is best accounted for, by his considering the act of parliament on which he was convicted, like many other bills which those tyrants procured, who have made as it were a chasm in the history of a free and happy people, as an Act of Parliament to destroy the liberty of thought.

Nothing can so well illustrate the ideas, likely to be entertained by so great a luminary of the law, as a recollection of the manner, in which Henry first acquired the disputed title.

Wolsey had been accused by the attorney-general, of having violated the statute of provisors and premunire, by acting as legate under the authority of the Pope, and disposing of several benefices in that capacity. In consequence of this conduct, all those who had acknowledged his authority and appeared in his courts, were equally guilty. Thus the whole body of the clergy, by obeying him as legate, had become liable to that species of outlawry which this statute enacts. The king therefore cunningly obtained the sanction of the convocation to his divorce, before he availed himself of that act to oppress and degrade them. His grand but concealed object was to make them acknowledge his supremacy. For however prompt that body has ever been to follow the spirit of a court, they have ever shewn a greater partiality for that of Rome than any other: a partiality which Henry wished to transfer to his own. The indictment was brought
in

in the court of king's bench ; and though it was pleaded that the king had himself connived at the cardinal's proceedings, the justice of their arguments, did not prevent judgment being given in favor of the tyrant. They were put out of the protection of the law, and subjected to all the pains and penalties of *præmunire*. The clergy, conscious that the people could not then be excited to revenge their cause, and having no hopes of assistance from the pope who despaired of recovering his influence in England, determined to take the opposite part, and be reconciled with their oppressor. The convocation therefore of Canterbury, came to a resolution, to offer the king £100,000 for a pardon ; and appointed a committee to draw up an act of convocation, called letters patent, for that purpose. That paper stated the motive of the present, to be 1st. the great merit of the king ; 2d. gratitude for his services to the *Catholic* church, both by his pen and his sword ; 3d. his zeal against the Lutherans, who were labouring to destroy the church of England, of which *the clergy acknowledged the king sole protector and supreme head* : and lastly their hopes of obtaining his pardon.

The clause relative to the supremacy, was surreptitiously inserted by the contrivance of Henry. And when it was objected to as an inadvertent piece of flattery leading to consequences unforeseen by the committee, his creatures had the effrontery to assert, that it could not be expunged by a formal resolution, without displeasing the king : an assertion confirmed the next day from the court itself by Mr. Secretary Cromwell and others of the privy council, who attended the convocation for that purpose,

and informed the house that the king would consider those who opposed it, as disaffected seditious persons.

The York convocation gave a similar present of £18,000. But having omitted the title conveyed in the other, they were given to understand their present would not be accepted without it: on which a similar clause was inserted. The same creatures of the court also contrived, that the first mentioned act should contain a promise, not to make any *constitution* without the king's *licence*; and this also was inserted in that of the York convocation.

The Pope having promised to refer Henry's affair to be decided at Cambray, by persons to whom the king should have no reason to object, the Bishop of Paris who acted as mediator, fixed the day for the return of the courier, in order to put the business more compleatly in train. But the Emperor's agents were so desirous of creating differences between the Pope and Henry, and intrigued so effectually with the former, by threats as well as promises, that although he had at first replied that his word was passed, he was induced to agree that if the courier did not return on the day appointed, he should consider himself liberated from his promise. By the same intrigues he was prevailed on, to refuse the delay of six days requested by the Bishop of Paris; and to transact in one single session, what usually required three consistories. He ordered the king again to receive his wife, and denounced against him ecclesiastical censures in case of disobedience.

This sentence whether conformable or adverse to the king's inclination, facilitated the act of Parliament he wished to obtain. The statute which ultimately abolished

the papal authority and indirectly conferred the supremacy, consisted of several articles.* 1st. It abolished the annates, a tax consisting of the first year's revenue of every benefice, the whole of which after each presentation or translation, was sent out of the country and paid to the Pope. 2d. That Bishops should not be presented by the Pope, but elected by *congé d'élire* from the crown; and that if the election should not be made within twelve days after the licence, the choice should belong to the king; by which means he was enabled absolutely to dictate what choice should be made; as it was improbable that the chapter should be unanimous, in opposing the will of their supreme head.† 3d. Peter-pence, bulls, dispensations, and all delegated authorities from Rome, were abolished; and *the Archbishop of Canterbury authorized to grant dispensations, provided part of the money was paid to the king.* 4th. The king's marriage with Catherine was annulled, notwithstanding any dispensation to the contrary: and far from subjecting the act of the people's delegates to the sanction of their *Sovereign the nation*, it enacted that all the *king's subjects* without distinction, should swear to observe and maintain the contents of this act. After which followed a list of the marriages to be held as forbidden by the law of God, including that of a brother's widow.

The whole parliament immediately took the oath, and

* It passed in March 1534, on the 30th of which month the session concluded.

† This has since been improved by his Majesty's recommending a Bishop, when he gives the *congé d'élire*.

the king sent commissioners throughout the kingdom, to exact it of all his subjects.

The oath for the clergy was to this effect. To be faithful to the king, the queen, their heirs, and successors; to acknowledge the king as supreme head of the church of England; that the Bishop of Rome has no more jurisdiction than any other Bishop whatever; sincerely to preach doctrines conformable to the scriptures; and pray first for the king as supreme head of the church of England, next for the queen and her issue, and then for the Archbishop of Canterbury.

When the oath was tendered to Sir Thomas, he replied, "That he would blame neither those who had made the act, nor those who had taken the oath; but for his own part, though he was willing to swear to the succession in a form of his own drawing, yet the oath which was offered was so worded, that his conscience revolted against it, and he could not take it with safety to his soul." He offered however to swear to the succession in the issue of the present marriage, because he thought that, within the power of Parliament. Upon which Mr. Secretary Cromwell, who had a strong friendship for Sir Thomas, and foresaw the consequences of his refusing the oath in the form required, protested, "that he had rather his only son should have lost his head, than that Sir Thomas More should refuse to swear to the succession."

Cranmer also in a letter to Mr. Secretary Cromwell, earnestly pressed him to accept the oath of More and Fisher, in the form they proposed. For if they once swore to the succession, it would quiet the nation; as all other persons

persons would submit to the judgment of those great and respectable characters. But this excellent advice was not complied with.

In consequence of this refusal, Sir Thomas was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster for four days; during which the king and his council deliberated, what course it was best to pursue. Several methods were proposed, but Henry would listen to none of them; and at last Sir Thomas was sent to the Tower, and indicted on the statutes.

Early in the next session of Parliament, which began on the 23d of November in the same year 1534, Henry knowing that the people was on his side in throwing off the Roman yoke, had several acts passed to compleat the work. The first of these confirmed the title of supreme head of the church of England, which he held as yet only by the surreptitious and tyrannical insertion of it by his creatures in the act of convocation. He pursued indeed nearly the same conduct now; for to make a show of not having procured the act himself, he suggested several scruples to his council and to some of the Bishops; but presently suffered himself to be convinced, and afterwards, to use the expression of Rapin, made good use of his new title and prerogatives.

Another act made it treason to speak, write, or imagine, any thing against the king or queen. A third annulled sanctuaries in cases of treason. A fourth prescribed a form for the oath of succession. A fifth *gave the annates or first year's revenue of benefices, and one tenth of all succeeding years, to the king.* A sixth established twenty-five suffragan bishops,

Bishops, or Chorepiscopi, according to the primitive use and phraseology of the church, one to each diocesan bishop. And lastly the fatal act, condemning Fisher Bishop of Rochester* and Sir Thomas More to perpetual imprisonment, and confiscating all their estates, for refusing the oath prescribed by an act of the former session. The king indeed seems to have had a particular hatred to those worthy characters; for though he granted a general pardon, he excepted these two, because they were *honest men*, and their very existence was incompatible with his tyrannical views.

The persecution of the tyrant was so malignant, that he not only employed the agency of crown-lawyers, but it even appears that he had given instructions, concerning the manner in which Sir Thomas was to be treated, during his confinement. For the lieutenant of the Tower, having formerly received some obligations from More, apologized, that he could not accommodate him as he wished, without incurring the king's displeasure. To which the latter replied, " Master lieutenant, whenever I find fault with
" the entertainment you provide for me, do you turn me out
" of doors." And it also appears that he was denied the use of pen ink and paper. For he wrote with a coal, a very few lines to his favourite daughter Mrs. Roper, and mentioned at the end of it his want of paper to write more. This and several samples of Sir Thomas's talent for poetry,

* The lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, and some other lords, sat with the judges by a commission of oyer and terminer, on the trial of Fisher, whose death was supposed to be hastened by the Pope's sending him a Cardinal's hat, and distinguishing him by the title of Cardinal of Cardinals.

may be seen in Johnson's History of the English Language, prefixed to the folio edition of his Dictionary.

While in confinement, the solicitor-general, Rich, was sent to confer, or rather to tamper with him. But though he was very cautious in his replies, he was inveigled to say something, which as frequently happens in crown indictments, was wrested into an assertion, that any question with regard to law, which established that prerogative, was like a two edged sword: if a man answered in one manner it would confound his soul, if in another it would destroy his body. This expression was sufficient for a *solicitor-general* to found an accusation, and Sir Thomas after fifteen months imprisonment, was arraigned and tried at the bar of the king's-bench, for high treason.

The charges contained in the indictment were these: 1st. That the prisoner had stubbornly opposed the king's second marriage. 2d. That he maliciously refused to declare his opinion of the act of supremacy. 3d. That he endeavoured to evade the force of that statute, and advised Bishop Fisher by his letters, not to submit to it: And 4th. that on his examination in the Tower, it being demanded whether he approved the act of supremacy, he answered as above. And these were laid as overt-acts of the treason of his heart.*

When the attorney-general had gone through the charge, which he did in the most virulent manner, the Lord Chancellor said, " You see now how grievously you have offended his majesty: nevertheless he is so merciful, that if you will but leave your obstinacy and change your opinion,

* See Salmon's Critical Review of the State Trials.

"we hope you may yet obtain pardon of his highness for " what is past." And in this sentiment he was seconded by the duke of Norfolk, who was More's particular friend. But Sir Thomas replied with much firmness, " That he had much cause to thank these noble lords for this courtesy, but he besought Almighty God, that through his grace he might continue in the mind in which he then was, unto death." After this he proceeded to his defence.

Sir Thomas did not deny the two first charges of this indictment. He allowed that he had advised the king against his second marriage, and that he had declined giving his opinion on the act of supremacy. The third was rested on his letters to Bishop Fisher; but these letters were not produced. And the fourth had no other support, than the evidence of the solicitor-general; a testimony, of which Sir Thomas entirely discredited the validity.

That worthy and innocent man continued his defence, saying that he had no malice or treason in his heart, when he advised the king against his second marriage; but gave his opinion when commanded by his majesty, according to his conscience, and his duty; and therefore had he refused to comply with his request, his majesty might then have justly resented it. As to the second charge, he thought silence was no sign of the malice of his heart; for according to the civilians, he who held his peace seemed to consent. And he declared at the same time, he had never cast any reflection on the statute, in the presence of any man. With regard to the third charge, that of maliciously advising Fisher not to comply with the act, he desired

fired that his letters which were said to prove it, might be produced: for he was confident they would acquit him, of having given such advice. And as to the fourth article, the words were no reflection on the act, even had he spoken them; whereas he had said nothing of that tendency. He objected to the evidence of the solicitor, on whose testimony he was charged with them, and appealed to the memory of the lords who were present at the conference, and who all immediately declared, *that they heard no such words.*

The principal evidence for the crown, was Mr. Rich, the solicitor general; who deposed that when he went to the Tower, for Sir Thomas's books and papers, he had a conversation with him, in which having *himself* confessed, that no parliament could make a law, that God should not be God, Sir Thomas replied, "No more
" can the parliament make the king supreme head of the
" church." To this charge Sir Thomas answered, "If I
" were a man my lords that did not regard an oath, I need-
" ed not at this time and in this place, as it is well known
" to you all, to stand as an accused person. And if this oath,
" Mr. Rich, which you have taken, be true, then I pray
" that I may never see God in the face; which I would
" not say were it otherwise, to gain the whole world." Upon which the solicitor being unable to prove his testimony by other witnesses, though he attempted it, that allegation was dropped.

In those days of ignorance, trial by jury was in crown indictments, a mere formality; requisite only to exonerate a bloody tyrant, from the odium of murdering his friend.

" For

“ For the jury” says Salmon, “ was so managed, that
 “ within a quarter of an hour after they were gone out,
 “ they returned with a verdict, *that the prisoner was*
 “ *GUILTY of high treason.*”

They had no sooner brought in this verdict, than the Lord Chancellor Audley began to pronounce the sentence. But Sir Thomas stopped him, and said “ My lord, when I
 “ was towards the law, the manner in such cases was to ask
 “ the prisoner before sentence, whether he could give any
 “ reason why judgment should not proceed against him.”
 Upon this the chancellor asked, what he was able to allege. It appears that he objected in his answer to the validity of the indictment. For whether his reasons were unanswerable, or the chancellor only feared, by taking the condemnation on himself, to excite the popular indignation, he turned to the lord chief justice, and asked him aloud his opinion on its validity. The chief justice, whose name was Fitz-james, answered, “ My lords all, by St. Gillian
 “ I must needs confess, that if the act of parliament be not
 “ unlawful, then in my conscience the indictment is not insufficient.” For it is said, that Sir Thomas had also objected in arrest of judgment, that an act of parliament could not give the king the supremacy of a church, of which England was only a part : a supremacy which he said none but heaven could confer. Immediately on the Lord Chief Justice having delivered his opinion, the Lord Chancellor said, “ Lo, my Lords, do you hear what my Lord Chief
 “ Justice saith ;” and without waiting for any reply, proceeded to pass sentence, in terms too horrid to be presented to the civilized reader, and which on account of the high
 office

office he had borne, were afterwards changed into simple decollation, except the exposition of his head on London Bridge.

The court as soon as sentence was pronounced, informing Sir Thomas, that if he had any thing further to say, they were ready to hear him, he addressed them in these words. " I have nothing further to say my lords, but " that like as the blessed apostle Paul, was present and " consented to the death of Stephen, and kept their clothes " who stoned him to death, and yet be they now both twain " holy saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends for " ever, so I verily trust, and shall therefore right heartily " pray, that though your lordships have now been judges " on earth to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter all " meet together in heaven, to our everlasting salvation. And " so I pray God preserve you all, and especially my sove- " reign lord the king, and send him faithful counsellors."

Having thus nobly taken leave of the court, he was conducted from the bar to the Tower by water, with the axe carried before him, as was usual after condemnation. But when he came to the Tower wharf, his favorite daughter Mrs. Margaret Roper, thinking this would be the last opportunity, was waiting to see him. As soon as he appeared, she burst through the crowd and guard which surrounded him, and having received his blessing on her knees, she embraced him eagerly with a flood of tears, and a thousand kisses of tenderness and affection: and her heart being almost ready to break, she could only sob out, " My father, oh my father!" But even this affecting scene did not overpower his fortitude. He took her in his arms, and

and told her " That whatever he should suffer, though he was innocent, yet it was not without the will of God, to whose blessed pleasure she should conform her own : That she knew well enough all the secrets of his heart; and that she must be patient for her loss." But scarcely had she left him, before her passion of grief and love, again irresistibly impelled her to press through the crowd, and eagerly to throw her arms once more around his neck, and hang upon him with her embraces, ready to die with sorrow. This was too much ; and though he did not speak a word, yet the tears flowed down his manly cheeks, till she took a last embrace and left him.

After a few days, one of the king's creatures made him a visit, in order to prevail on him yet to comply with his master's desire and change his mind. Sir Thomas at length got rid of his repeated importunities by one of those pleasantries, which marked his character to the last. " I have changed it" said he. These words the courtier carried with great exultation to the king, who would scarcely believe what he heard. In this it afterwards appeared that Henry was right. For Sir Thomas on being urged to repeat his recantation, answered with a smile that he had no otherwise changed his mind, than " whereas he had intended to be shaved, in order to appear to the people as he was wont to do before his imprisonment, he was now fully resolved, his beard should share the same fate with his head."

With the same easy facetiousness, when he was informed of the king's mercy and pardon as it was insolently called, in commuting his sentence, he said " God forbid the
" king

“ king should use any more such mercy to any of my
 “ friends, and God preserve my posterity from such par-
 “ dons.”

On the 5th of July 1535, about a month after the trial, Mr. Pope (afterwards Sir Thomas) who was More's particular friend, was sent by the king very early in the morning, to acquaint him that he should be executed that day at nine o'clock; and therefore that he must immediately prepare for death. If the king thought to intimidate him into compliance by so short a notice, he lost his object; for Sir Thomas More said, “ I most heartily
 “ thank you for your good tidings. I have been much
 “ bound to the king's highness for the benefit of his honors,
 “ that he has most bountifully bestowed on me; yet I am
 “ more bound to his grace, I do assure you, for putting
 “ me here, where I have had convenient time and space,
 “ to have remembrance of my end. And, so help me God,
 “ most of all I am bound unto him, that it hath pleased
 “ his majesty so shortly to rid me out of the miseries of
 “ this wretched world.” His friend then informed him that his majesty's pleasure further was, that he should not use many words at his execution. To which Sir Thomas replied, “ You do well Mr. Pope to give me
 “ warning of the king's pleasure herein, for otherwise I
 “ had proposed at that time to have spoken somewhat,
 “ but nothing wherewith his grace or any others should
 “ have cause to be offended. Howbeit whatsoever I in-
 “ tended, I am ready to conform myself obediently to his
 “ highness's command. And I beseech you good Mr.
 “ Pope, to be a means to his majesty that my daughter

“ Margaret may be at my burial.” Mr. Pope now took leave of his friend, with many tears and much commiseration: but Sir Thomas desired him to be comforted with the prospect of eternal bliss, in which they should live and love together. And to shew the ease and quietness of his own mind, he took his urinal, and casting his water as it is called, said “ I see no danger but that this man might “ live longer, if it had pleased the king.”

As soon as Mr. Pope had left him, he dressed himself in the best cloaths he had, that his appearance might express the ease and complacency which he felt within. But the lieutenant of the Tower objecting to this generosity, as the executioner was to have his cloaths, Sir Thomas assured him that “ were it cloth of gold, he should think it well bestowed, on him who was to do him so singular a benefit.” The lieutenant however pressed him very much to change his dress, and as he was a friend, and Sir Thomas unwilling to refuse so trifling a gratification, he put on a gown of frize, and of the little money he had left, sent an angel to the executioner, as a token of good will.

And now the fatal hour was come, and Sir Thomas was about nine o'clock brought out from the Tower for execution. His beard which he had always been accustomed to shave was then long, his countenance pale, and, still a bigot to a superstitious religion, he carried in his hands a red cross, casting his eyes every now and then towards heaven.

On his way to the place of execution, on Tower-hill, a woman supposed to be suborned by his adversaries to disgrace him, followed, and called out that he had done
her

her a great injury when Lord Chancellor, by passing an unjust decree against her. But he answered that he remembered her cause very well, and that were he again to give sentence, he would confirm what he had done.

Another woman met him with a cup of wine ; but he refused it, saying, " that Christ at his passion, did not " drink wine, but gaul and vinegar."

When brought to the scaffold, it appeared so weak as not to be capable of sustaining his weight. When, in his usual facetious way, which he retained to the last, he said to the lieutenant of the Tower who attended him, " Pray " Sir assist me to get up : as for my coming down, let me " shift for myself." Then he kneeled down, and repeated the *miserere* psalm, with great fervor and devotion ; and rising up with undaunted firmness, he kissed the executioner who had begged his forgiveness, and said " this " day you will do me a greater service than ever any " man did. Pull up your spirits, and be not afraid to do " your duty. Take heed therefore not to miss your stroke, " lest you lose your credit." For his neck was very short. When the executioner offered to cover his eyes, he said " I will cover them myself ;" which he immediately did, with a cloth he had brought for that purpose. Then laying his head on the block, he bid the executioner stay till he had put aside his beard ; " for that" said he, " never " was guilty of treason."

Thus perished soon after the meridian of a virtuous life, the favorite companion and confidential adviser of a king. Thus fatally poisonous was the illusive favor of a tyrant.

“ It is not easy,” says Salmon in his remarks on the trial, “ to conceive what there was in the charge, even
 “ had it been all proved, that could amount to high treason, or even to a misdemeanor ; unless it be criminal,
 “ not to think always as the king thinks. Very precarious was the life of a subject in this reign. Whatever
 “ the court was pleased to denominate treason, was adjudged treason ; and whoever the ministry thought fit
 “ to accuse was found guilty. No jury or court of justice dared refuse to convict, any man the king intimated he would have condemned to death ; and parliament only met to execute the king’s decrees. We
 “ may therefore look upon this reign of Henry VIII. as the most tyrannical, arbitrary, and cruel, that is to be
 “ met with in our annals. From this persecution of Sir Thomas More it appears, that neither virtue, parts,
 “ learning, or even innocence, were any protection. This great man’s steady and persevering virtue, was a reproach to the tyrant, who seemed determined to suffer
 “ no man to live, that would not fall down and worship him, and change his creed as often as himself should
 “ alter his mind.”

The body of Sir Thomas More was interred, first in the chapel of St. Peter ad vincula in the Tower, and afterwards by his daughter Margaret’s intervention in Chelsea church ; where a monument with an inscription written by himself, had been erected some time before, and is still extant. She also procured his head after fourteen days exposition, although it was to have been thrown into the
 Thames,

Thames, to make room for other victims to the cruelty of her father's murderer. For this she was summoned before the privy council, where she behaved with the greatest firmness, and justified her conduct on principles of humanity and filial piety. Notwithstanding this, she was absurdly and wickedly committed to prison, though only for a short time. At the death of this lady, the head of Sir Thomas, which she had preserved with religious veneration in a box of lead, was committed with her own body to the grave, at St. Dunstan's in Canterbury; and was seen standing on her coffin so late as the year 1715, when the vault of the Roper family into which she had married, was opened.

Sir Thomas was of a middle stature, and extremely well proportioned. His complexion was fair, with a light tincture of red, and the colour of his hair was a dark chesnut. He had grey eyes, and a thin beard. His countenance was the true index of his mind, always cheerful and pleasant, composed by habit into an agreeable smile, seemingly calculated for innocent mirth and festivity, rather than gravity or dignity. In walking, his right shoulder appeared higher than the other, but this proceeded from habit and not from defect.

In his dress he was generally very plain; but when the dignity of his office required it, he conformed to custom. His constitution was generally healthy; but towards the latter part of his life he was incommoded with a pain in his breast, and experienced some decay of strength. And this was the pretext, on which he resigned the office of Chancellor.

It is universally allowed, that Sir Thomas was admirably skilled in every branch of polite literature ; and as Bishop Burnet says, he was esteemed one of the greatest prodigies of wit and learning, that England had ever produced : while for justice, contempt of money, humility, and true generosity of mind, he was an example to the age in which he lived.

There is however one blemish and only one, in the character of More, which every lover of humanity must lament. I mean his adopting the superstitious and tyrannical idea of forcing men into his own way of *thinking*, and his persecuting even to cruelty those who appeared guilty of opposing what he conceived to be the true religion. For when we compare the character of that age (certainly more religious than ours) with the present enlightened period, and see the equal right of thinking violated by a man of otherwise unblemished virtue, we must surely perceive, how much we mistake the character of that idol we adore and honor under the name of religion. For if there ever existed a religious man, More was certainly one. He built a summer-house, library, and chapel, at some distance from his mansion, whither besides a kind of morning and evening service performed with his family in the house, he used frequently to retire even from them ; and on Friday spent the whole day there. He also wrote several books in a very virulent stile, in defence of the Romish faith, and in opposition to the new church system. And these works were so grateful to the English clergy, that judging by *their own feelings* that money was the only object with Sir Thomas, they unanimously voted him in full convocation,

cation, a present of four or five thousand pounds,* raised by a general contribution ; with which three Bishops were deputed to wait upon him. But he replied, " It is no
 " small comfort to me, that such wise and learned men
 " so well accepted of my works, but I never will receive
 " any reward for them but at the hand of God." Upon
 this the Bishops asked leave to present the money to his
 family: but he answered, " Not so indeed my lords. I had
 " rather see it cast into the Thames, than that I, or any
 " of mine should have any of it. For though your lord-
 " ships' offer is very friendly and honorable to me, yet I
 " set so much by my pleasure, and so little by my profit,
 " that in good faith I would not for a much larger sum,
 " have lost the rest of so many nights as were spent on
 " these writings. And yet I wish, upon condition that all
 " heresies were suppressed, that all my books were burnt
 " and my labor entirely lost." This answer surprised the
 Bishops. They withdrew however with apparent re-
 luctance, and restored the money to the subscribers.

The praise of such a body declines however in value
 in proportion to the improvement of reason. " Sir
 " Thomas as Burnet very truly remarks was a very priest
 " in matters of religion." For if we rely on that writer's
 authority, like a priest he wrote, and like a priest he perse-
 cuted. " Few inquisitors says Hume, have been guilty of
 greater violence in their prosecution of heresy. Though
 adorned with the gentlest manners as well as the purest in-
 tegrity, he carried to the utmost height his aversion to he-

* Equal to 30,000*l.* at this day.

terodoxy. And James Bainham in particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the greatest severity. Bainham, accused of favoring the new opinions, was carried to More's house, and having refused to discover his accomplices, the chancellor, "by an act of authority" ordered him to be whipped in his presence, and afterwards sent him to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman overcome by all these severities, abjured his opinions : but feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his apostacy, openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was therefore condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield."

The spirit of the times was such, as Mr. Hume proceeds to inform us, that "many were brought into the Bishops courts for offences which appear trivial, but which were regarded as symbols of the party : some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English, others for reading the New Testament in that language or for speaking against pilgrimages. To harbour the persecuted preachers, to neglect the fasts of the church, to declaim against the vices of the clergy, were capital offences."

The account given by Rapin of Sir Thomas's conduct in this respect is *in substance* as follows :

After Wolsey's disgrace, Sir Thomas More being made chancellor, persuaded the king that what most injured him at the court of Rome, was a report of his favouring the supporters of the new opinions ; and that the only way to remove this prejudice, was to demonstrate his zeal
for

for the church. Henry therefore agreed to order the laws against heretics and their books to be rigorously executed. And several copies of Tindal's translation of the Bible, the importation of which and of all other heretical books was very strictly prohibited, having been discovered by the Bishop of London, he had them publicly burnt by the hangman: from which, it appears, many people inferred, that the scriptures were contrary to the religion generally professed.*

“ While More was chancellor” says Rapin, “ he spared no pains utterly to destroy those who embraced the Reformation. But at length the king finding it his interest to keep fair with the German Protestants, put a stop to More's persecution.” An expression which confirms the otherwise suspicious account of Burnet.

Sir Thomas indeed had condemned this conduct before he was himself in power. For he says in his Eutopia, “ that this people allows liberty of conscience, and does not force their religion on any one; that they do not prevent a sober inquiry into truth, nor use any violence on account of a difference of belief.”

Thus has religion always had for its *principal* object to retard the progress of reason; for it has always been em-

* It is pleasant to observe, how much the Bishop contributed in various ways to strengthen the very cause he opposed, by ordering all the remaining copies of that work from Antwerp, and having them burnt in Cheapside. This was the occasion of a new edition being printed the next year, when the publisher's friend and supporter Constantine, on being asked by the Chancellor what was the cause of so rapid a sale, answered that the Bishop of London occasioned it, by having bought up the last half of the former impression.

ployed to suppress *new opinions* and support the *old*. A mode of action of which reason, progressive reason, is directly the reverse.

The expressions indeed of the historians of those times are exceedingly remarkable. They seem to write as if they were speaking of the present period ; but their language is equally applicable to any other point in the history of the world, from the days of Anaxagoras or Socrates, down to the once new morality of Jesus Christ : from the days of Cöpernicus, the persecuted reviver of Plato's opinion concerning the rotundity of the earth and the existence of Antipodes, to the new but Christian, the Gallic but once British doctrine, of equal rights.

Were any one to write a history of the progress of philosophy or of the advancement of the rational faculty, he would do little more than relate a long series of similar contests, between the *new* and the *old opinions*, between the light of reason and philanthropy and the darkness of superstition and slavery.

The facts we have just recorded are such as it is unpleasant to relate, particularly of a man whom every one takes a pleasure to love ; a man whose life we can scarcely peruse, without contracting as it were a personal friendship and acquaintance, with that amiable patriot and friend of mankind. But as such characters as that of Sir Thomas More are rare, so these blemishes can produce no other feelings in the philanthropic breast, than an absolute conviction accompanied with deep regret, that religion when supported by the state, does really lead to consequences, clearly and decidedly immoral ;—perhaps it
does

does so in the direct proportion of the general innocence and virtuous tenor of the character. It corrupts the heart and estranges man from his brother.

Were this fact disputed, we might in a certain point of view assert, that we have an instance on record, of an almost perfect character contaminated and rendered immoral, nay even criminal, by that principle of superstition, which we are too apt to honor with the name of religion. And Sir Thomas More though he might be said

“ *Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ,**”

would by no means appear

“ *Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus.†*”

But peace to his manes; for he fell a victim to that very spirit, which constituted the only fault, that even his enemies can attribute to his excellent heart.

Another perhaps equally ill founded accusation against him, is that he affected singularity: but this seems to be only the envious cavilling, of those who did not equal him in the singularity of his virtue, or who had not the same taste for domestic retirement, and the same attachment to the remote branches of their family.

The facetious turn of his mind was censured by Lord Herbert, and even by Erasmus; who calls him another Democritus. Mr. Addison however wrote his apology, and very justly asserted, that More's facetiousness continuing to the last moment of his life, was a proof of his perfect innocence. “He saw nothing in death,” says that writer, “to put him out of his ordinary humor.”

This may be rendered,

* To know no inward pang of conscious blame.

† Of spotless life, and pure unfulfilled fame.

The

These objections to an innocent turn of mind, bring to my recollection the reply of a lady with whom I had the happiness to be acquainted, and who retained her usual equanimity and pleasantness, even when her husband's misfortunes had deprived her of every support, but that of good spirits. This respectable but unfortunate lady, in answer to the cavils of those, who disapproved her not assuming an artificial weak dejection of countenance, said it was very hard, when she had lost all without any fault of her own, that they should wish also to deprive her of that internal consolation.

Indeed Sir Thomas best made his own apology, by turning the charge into good-natured ridicule, when he says in his letter to Peter Giles, "Some are so sour, they
" can allow no jests, and are as much afraid of any
" thing gay and lively, as a man bit with a mad dog is
" of water."

An answer perhaps still more in point, may be taken from the last chapter of the Eutopia, (page 124) where the author speaks of death. "They believe certainly
" and surely," says he, "that man's bliss shall be so
" great, that they do mourn every man's sickness, but
" no man's death; unless it be one whom they see de-
" part from his life, carefully and against his will. For
" this they take for a very evil token, as if the soul being in
" despair, and vexed in conscience through some privy and
" secret forefeeling of the punishment now at hand, were
" afraid to depart.—They therefore that see this kind of
" death, do *abhor it*, and them that so die, they bury with sor-
" row and silence.—Contrariwise all they that depart mer-
" rily

“ rily and full of good hope, for them no man mourneth,
 “ but followeth the hearfe with joyful finging.—When they
 “ be come home, they rehearse his virtuous manners and his
 “ good deeds ; but no part of his life is so oft or so gladly
 “ talked of, as his merry death.”

Sir Thomas it seems was also a patron of the polite arts. For Hans Holbein being recommended to him by a letter from Erasmus, during his chancellorship, Sir Thomas received him at his house, and entertained him till he had painted all his family ; and then taking occasion to shew his pieces to the king, Henry was so struck with their execution, that he asked Sir Thomas if such an artist was alive, and could be procured for money. Upon which Holbein was introduced to his Majesty, and immediately taken into the king's service, till he died of the plague in 1554.

The talents and virtues of Sir Thomas More, procured him not only the treacherous attentions and perfidious favour of a king, but what is of infinitely more real and permanent value, the heartfelt esteem and friendship, of the greatest luminaries of learning among his cotemporaries ; and particularly that of the immortal Erasmus.

Sir Thomas had by his first wife three daughters and one son, who all survived him. The three daughters coming first, and his wife being very desirous of a boy, she had one at last, who was almost an idiot. Upon which Sir Thomas said, “ she had prayed so long for a boy,
 “ that she had now one who would continue a boy as long
 “ as he lived.” He gave him however all the advantages of a liberal education, by which his natural abilities
 were

were greatly improved. After the death of his father, he also was committed to the Tower, and condemned, for refusing the same oath of supremacy. But though he was afterwards pardoned and restored to liberty, he did not long survive the period of his imprisonment.

The amiable character of his eldest daughter Margaret, is happily drawn both by Addison and Walpole; and some account of her life has been given by Ballard in his *Memoirs of Learned Ladies*. At the age of twenty she married William Roper Esq. of Well-hall in Kent, whose life of Sir Thomas More was published by Mr. Hearne at Oxford in 1716. This marriage gave infinite satisfaction to Sir Thomas, of whose parental affection Mrs. Roper seems to have been the dearest object: a preference which is evinced by the whole tenor of their history, and was more particularly marked in his letters to his daughter. In an age when the graces of the mind were regarded as an essential object in female education, she was most eminently distinguished by her learning, and particularly by her knowledge of Latin and Greek: but the beauty and force of her filial piety, reflects even a superior lustre on this accomplished woman. There is more than one passage in her life says Mr. Hayley, in the notes on his epistle to a painter, which would furnish an admirable subject for the pencil; and her interview with her father on his return to the Tower, is mentioned as such by Mr. Walpole in his *Anecdotes of painting*: where he mentions the remains of the family of More, as then residing at Earnborough in Yorkshire. But the muse of Hayley has chosen a different scene: and with

with the licence which as Horace says is allowed to both the sister arts, has introduced into the presence of the council, that head whose dictates it had once so much respected.

Shall Roman charity for ever share,
Thro' every various school each painter's care,
And Britain still her bright examples hide,
Of female glory and of filial pride?
Instruct our eyes, my Romney, to adore,
Th' heroic daughter of the virtuous More:
Resolved to save, or in the attempt expire,
The precious relicks of her martyr'd fire,
Before the cruel council let her stand,
Press the dear ghastly head with pitying hand,
And plead, while bigotry itself grows mild,
The sacred duties of a grateful child.

The life of Sir Thomas More and his reverse of fortune, have also been chosen as a subject for a tragedy, by the elegant pen of Mr. James Hurdis, Professor of Poetry at Oxford; where although more events are concentrated within the space of a day, than probability will readily admit, his licence of the poet has enabled him considerably to heighten the catastrophe of his play.

Sir Thomas was the author of various works, of which the first volume of the *Athenæ Oxonienses* contains a catalogue. But his *Eutopia* (*de optimo reipublicæ statu de qua nova Insula Utopia &c.*) is the only work which has survived in the esteem of the world; the rest being chiefly of a polemic nature. His answer to Luther has only gained him the credit, of having the best knack of any man in Europe, of giving men bad names in good Latin. His English works were collected and published by order
of

of Queen Mary, in 1557, his Latin at Basil in 1562 and at Louvain in 1566.*

Note on the office of Chancellor, referring to page xvi.

It is a fact not sufficiently attended to by historians, that throughout that system of political superstition which preceded the reformation, and which like every other connection between church and state, is too often confounded with true christianity, the office of chancellor was in a great measure monopolized by the church, and usually given to a cardinal or bishop. Fortunately it was among the lesser changes of that revolution, that the church was no longer to hold an undivided sway, and dictate in a branch of our jurisprudence, which doubtless through superstitious motives, was most free from the restraint of precedent, or the troublesome precision of the common law courts.

This change however is to be attributed to the same selfish motives, as all the others that produced what is called the reformation. For Sir Thomas More was promoted to this high office, not because he was a layman or an honest man, but because the king expected his assistance in his own anti-ecclesiastical matrimonial views. Whether the union of church and law like that of church and state, gave rise to the glorious uncertainty, or the lucrative delay of that tedious court, may be disputed :

* *Authorities*:—Roper's life of More in the Brit. Museum, Harleian MSS. No. 70, 30. Hodgesdon's life of More. Dr. Warner's ditto, Biog. Britan. Jortin's life of Erasmus. Burnet's hist. of the Reformation. Burnet's life of More. Salmon's review of state trials. Rapin, Hume, Herbert. Johnson's hist. of the English language, prefixed to his dictionary. Ballard's mem. of learned ladies.

but the right and title of the chancellor to be keeper of the king's conscience, as he still continues in virtue of his office, clearly takes its source in that union, and would confirm the credibility of these facts, even without further historical investigation.

But on so interesting a subject, we ought not to satisfy ourselves, without consulting the most indisputable authorities.

Sir William Blackstone observes, from Sir Edward Coke's *Institutes*,* that the Lord Chancellor is so named *a cancellendo*, from cancelling the king's letters patent when granted contrary to law, which is the highest point of his jurisdiction. But distrusting it should seem, the etymon he had just adduced, he proceeds to inform us, that both "the office and name of Chancellor, however derived, was certainly known to the courts of the Roman Emperors; where it seems originally to have signified a chief scribe or secretary, who was afterwards invested with several judicial powers, and a general superintendence over the other officers of the prince. From the Roman Empire it passed to the Roman Church, ever emulous of imperial state. Thus every Bishop has to this day his chancellor, the principal judge of his consistory; and among the modern kingdoms of Europe established on the ruins of that empire, almost every state has preserved its chancellor, with different jurisdictions and dignities according to their various constitutions."†

The comprehensive and almost absolute authority and jurisdiction of the Chancellor, appear from the same wri-

* *Inst.* vol. IV. p. 88.

† *Comment.* vol. III. c. 4.

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ter's description of his office: where it is observable, that "he has the supervision of all charters and public instruments of the crown. He becomes also, without writ or patent," (i. e. by the mere delivery of the seals) "an officer of the greatest weight and power of any now subsisting in the kingdom, and superior in point of precedency to every temporal lord.* He is a privy counsellor by his office, and according to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, prolocutor of the House of Lords by prescription. To him belongs the appointment of all justices of the peace," (another branch of the ancient system of arbitrary power) "throughout the kingdom. Being formerly an ecclesiastic, (for none else, says the learned judge, were then capable of an office so conversant in writings) and presiding over the royal chapel,† he became keeper of the king's conscience, visitor under the crown of all hospitals and colleges of royal foundation, and patron of all the crown livings under the value of 20l. per ann. in the king's books:" a power by which he influences the public opinion through the medium of the abovementioned political superstition, as by appointing the justices of peace, he gives a tone to the more minute restraints of law on our conduct. "He is also the general guardian of all infants, ideots, and lunatics, and has the general superintendence of all the charitable uses in the kingdom. And all this over and above *the vast and extensive jurisdiction*, which he exercises in his judicial capacity in the court of chancery." A vast and extensive jurisdiction indeed! and whether it

* Stat. 31. Hen. VIII. c. 10.

† Madox Hist. Exch. 42.

be not too much for an individual to possess, will be better understood when the RIGHTS OF MAN, of which Blackstone* has already treated, have received that full discussion, which must ultimately establish truth and equity, and overthrow error, superstition, and despotism.

The enormous influence and power always annexed to the high dignity of this office, may be instanced in several acts of state previous to the conquest of our island by William; and traced even to the venerable records of the Saxon age. At that time the imposing *authority* of ecclesiastical superstition, itself a monster in the state, was added to the legal functions of an office, which, with only half its original power, still retains so *vast and extensive a jurisdiction*; and which since that superstition has been rendered subordinate to the crown, is the only judicial office, from which the king can arbitrarily displace. Thus king Ethelred gave the chancellorship to be annexed in perpetual succession to the church of Ely; although Sir Edward Coke† considers such grants as void in law. Also, on the advice of chancellor Reinbald, Edward the Confessor granted lands to the Abbot of Westminster, and with his own hands affixed the sign of the cross to the charter.‡

Thus it appears that Polydore Virgil was in an error, when he asserted that the court of chancery originated with the usurpation of the Norman conqueror. William

* See the whole of book I. on Rights of Persons: or rather see the whole work.

† 4 Inst. 78

‡ Ibid.

however, in conformity to the practice of his predecessors, gave the office of chancellor to Arfastus Bishop of Northelmham in Norfolk, who transferred his see to Thetford.

The importance of the office which was thus monopolized by the church is the more apparent, as it is laid down by Fitz-Stephens, who wrote in the reign of Henry II.* that "the chancellor holds the second dignity to that of the sovereign." And as precedency was regulated by established custom till the Stat. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10. so the same super-eminence of rank continued to be enjoyed by Sir Thomas More, although a layman, even after Henry VIII. had thrown off the Roman yoke. For we find in a copy of the articles drawn up under a special commission, by the chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, and several other lords, judges, and members of the privy-council, which is preserved in the Institutes of Sir Edward Coke,† that the chancellor's signature is the first in order, and though a commoner, precedes that of the duke of Norfolk.‡

The extreme ignorance and bigotry of those early periods concurred to suppress almost every right of the free-born soul, and to accumulate every power of the human mind in ecclesiastic hands. Even Fleta, who wrote § in

* Stow's Survey versus finem.

† 4 Inst. 95.

‡ It is observable that the manner of signing, was to add the initial of the pre-nomen, or Christian name as it is vulgarly called. T. More, T. Norfolk, Char. Suffolk, &c.

§ Blackst. Comm. iv. c. 33. p. 427.

the reign of Edward I. when speaking of this great office, considers its being vested in some prudent and discreet bishop or clerk as an established maxim. He even extends that clerical influence still further, by associating with him honest and upright ecclesiastics, sworn to the king, and well skilled in the laws; whose office it was to examine the cases which should arise in that court, and to assist in the administration of that *remedial* part of justice which was committed to its cognizance.*

After this period, although we find on the rolls the names of several chancellors who were not ecclesiastics, yet this high dignity, this *vast and extensive jurisdiction*, was on the whole so generally appropriated to the church, that in the Parliament anno 45 Edwardi III. "a grievous complaint was made by the Lords and Commons, that the realm had been of long time governed by men of the church, *in disherison of the crown*: and they desired that laymen only might be principal officers," † &c. Thus it appears that the church encroached as much on the privileges of the crown, as on the liberties of the people. The same complaint in the subsequent reign of Richard II. seems to carry on the like imputation, and to shew that too large a measure of dignity and power, given either to an individual or to a body like the church, is not only incompatible with human rights, but with human policy and personal virtue.

The enormities exercised in consequence of this accumulation of influence, riches, and authority, had then

* Flota l. 2. c. 12. Glanv. l. 8, 12. c. 1, 5.

† Coke's Inst. iv. 79.

grown to such a height, as to provoke the whole body of the realm! And a petition similar to that in the reign of Edward III. was now presented, on account not only of the corruption, but of the *ignorance* in the management of this high office. It requests "that the most wise and able men only might be selected for it, who would more readily redress the grievances complained of."

It would be tedious to pursue the long windings of a dry and unfruitful subject, on which so many volumes have been already written: but it is worthy of remark, that though by the oath of office the chancellor is bound to serve and counsel the king, and prevent the decrease of any of his rights, and to "do and purchase **THE KING'S PROFIT** in all that he may;" yet that oath contains not the most distant allusion to any obligation, as grand judiciary of the realm, to *do or purchase any GOOD or RIGHTS for the People!*

ERRATA.

P. 4, l. 6, from the bottom, for an estate of 400l. per annum, *read*, by his practice a yearly revenue of 400l.

P. 17, l. 4, *add*, after purchase, except the manors given him by the king.

l. 14, after no, *add*, suitable.

P. 38, l. 15, for regions, *read*, religious.

☞ Where a quotation is not in the first person, *dele* the marginal inverted commas

1941-1942

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a message of condolence to the people of the State of California, who had recently suffered from a severe earthquake. The President expresses his sympathy for the victims and offers assistance in the form of relief funds and supplies.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 1, 1861. It is a copy of the original letter, and is signed by Abraham Lincoln.

RAFAEL H. GONZALEZ

COMMUNIST

[Faint, illegible text]

THE TWO THIRDS

WILSON AND WILSON

...and the ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of the ...

1941

[illegible]

111

SIR THOMAS MORE

THE

DISCOURSES

OF

RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY,

OF THE BEST STATE OF A

COMMONWEALTH.

WRITTEN BY

SIR THOMAS MORE,

CITIZEN AND SHERIFF OF LONDON.

HENRY the Eighth, the unconquered king of England, a prince adorned with all the virtues that become a great monarch, having some differences of no small consequence with Charles the most serene prince of Castile, sent me into Flanders, as his ambaffador, for treating and composing matters between them. I was colleague and companion to that incomparable man Cuthbert Tonstal, whom the king with such universal applause lately made Master of the Rolls, but of whom I will say nothing, not because I fear that the testimony of a friend will be suspected, but rather because his learning and virtues are too great for me to do them justice, and so well known,

that they need not my commendations, unless I would, according to the proverb, *shew the sun with a lantern.*

Those that were appointed by the prince to treat with us, met us at Bruges, according to agreement: they were all worthy men. The Margrave of Bruges was their head, and the chief man among them; but he that was esteemed the wisest, and that spoke for the rest, was George Temse, the Provoost of Casselsee: both art and nature had concurred to make him eloquent. He was very learned in the law: and, as he had a great capacity, so, by a long practice in affairs, he was very dexterous at unravelling them.

After we had several times met, without coming to an agreement, they went to Brussels for some days, to know the prince's pleasure: and, since our business would admit it, I went to Antwerp. While I was there, among many that visited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other; Peter Giles, born at Antwerp, who is a man of great honor, and of a good rank in his town, though less than he deserves; for I do not know if there be any where to be found a more learned and a better bred young man: for as he is both a very worthy and a very knowing person, so he is so civil to all men, so particularly kind to his friends, and so full of candor and affection, that there is not perhaps above one or two any where to be found, that is in all respects so perfect a friend. He is extraordinarily modest; there is no artifice in him; and yet no man has more of a prudent simplicity. His conversation was so pleasant and so innocently cheerful, that his company in a great measure lessened

lessened any longings to go back to my country, and to my wife and children, which an absence of four months had quickened very much. One day as I was returning home from mass at St. Mary's, which is the chief church, and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw him by accident talking with a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him; so that by his looks and habit I concluded he was a seaman. As soon as Peter saw me, he came and saluted me; and, as I was returning his civility, he took me aside, and pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said, Do you see that man? I was just thinking to bring him to you.—I answered, he should have been very welcome on your account.—And on his own too, replied he, if you knew the man; for there is none alive that can give so copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do; which I know you very much desire.—Then, said I, I did not guess amiss; for at first sight I took him for a seaman.—But you are much mistaken, said he; for he has not sailed as a seaman, but as a traveller, or rather a philosopher. This Raphael, who from his family carries the name of Hythloday, is not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himself more particularly to that than to the former, because he had given himself much to philosophy, in which he knew that the Romans have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero. He is a Portuguese by birth, and was so desirous of seeing the world, that he divided

his estate among his brothers, run the same hazard as Americus Vesputius, and bore a share in three of his four voyages, that are now published; only he did not return with him in his last, but obtained leave of him, almost by force, that he might be one of those twenty-four who were left at the farthest place at which they touched, in their last voyage to New Castile. The leaving him thus, did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning home, to be buried in his own country; for he used often to say, that the way to heaven was the same from all places; and he that had no grave had the heavens still over him. Yet this disposition of mind had cost him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five Castilians, had travelled over many countries, at last, by strange good fortune, he got to Ceylon, and from thence to Calicut, where he very happily found some Portuguese ships; and, beyond all men's expectations, returned to his native country.

When Peter had said this to me, I thanked him for his kindness, in intending to give me the acquaintance of a man, whose conversation he knew would be so acceptable; and upon that Raphael and I embraced each other. After those civilities were past, which are usual with strangers upon their first meeting, we all went to my house; and, entering into the garden, sat down on a green bank, and entertained one another in discourse. He told us, that when Vesputius had sailed away, he and his companions that staid behind in New Castile, by degrees insinuated themselves into the affections of the people of
the

country, meeting often with them, and treating them gently ; and at last they not only lived among them without danger, but conversed familiarly with them ; and got so far into the heart of a prince, whose name and country I have forgot, that he both furnished them plentifully with all things necessary, and also with the conveniencies of travelling, both boats when they went by water, and waggons when they travelled over land. He sent with them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to such other princes as they had a mind to see. And after many days journey, they came to towns, and cities, and to commonwealths, that were both happily governed and well peopled. Under the Equator, and as far on both sides of it as the sun moves, there lay vast desarts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the sun ; the soil was withered, all things looked dismally, and all places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild beasts and serpents, and some few men, that were neither less wild, nor less cruel, than the beasts themselves. But as they went farther, a new scene opened ; all things grew milder, the air less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts were less wild ; and at last there were nations, towns, and cities, that had not only mutual commerce among themselves, and with their neighbours, but traded, both by sea and land, to very remote countries. There they found the conveniencies of seeing many countries on all hands ; for no ship went any voyage into which he and his companions were not very welcome. The first vessels that they saw were flat-bottomed, their sails were made of reeds and wicker

woven close together, only some were of leather ; but afterwards they found ships made with round keels, and canvas sails, and in all respects like our ships ; and the seamen understood both astronomy and navigation. He got wonderfully into their favour, by shewing them the use of the needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant. They sailed before with great caution, and only in summer time, but now they count all seasons alike, trusting wholly to the loadstone, in which they are perhaps more secure than safe ; so that there is reason to fear, that this discovery which was thought would prove so much to their advantage, may by their imprudence become an occasion of much mischief to them. But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had observed in every place ; it would be too great a digression from our present purpose. Whatever is necessary to be told, concerning those wise and prudent institutions which he observed among civilized nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper occasion. We asked him many questions concerning all these things, to which he answered very willingly ; only we made no enquiries after monsters, than which nothing is more common ; for every where one may hear of ravenous dogs and wolves, and cruel men-eaters ; but it is not so easy to find states that are well and wisely governed.

As he told us of many things that were amiss in those new discovered countries, so he reckoned up not a few things, from which patterns might be taken for correcting the errors of these nations among whom we live ; of which an account may be given, as I have already promised, at
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some other time ; for at present I intend only to relate those particulars that he told us of the manners and laws of the Utopians : but I will begin with the occasion that led us to speak of that commonwealth. After Raphael had discoursed with great judgment on the many errors that were both among us and these nations ; had treated of the wise institutions both here and there, and had spoken as distinctly of the customs and government of every nation through which he had past, as if he had spent his whole life in it ; Peter being struck with admiration, said I wonder Raphael, how it comes that you enter into no king's service, for I am sure there are none to whom you would not be very acceptable : for your learning and knowledge, both of men and things is such, that you would not only entertain them very pleasantly, but be of great use to them, by the examples you could set before them, and the advices you could give them ; and by this means you would both serve your own interest, and be of great use to all your friends. As for my friends, answered he, I need not be much concerned, having already done for them all that was incumbent on me ; for when I was not only in good health, but fresh and young, I distributed that among my kindred and friends, which other people do not part with till they are old and sick ; when they then unwillingly give that which they can enjoy no longer themselves. I think my friends ought to rest contented with this, and not to expect that for their sakes I should enslave myself to any king whatsoever. Soft and fair, said Peter, I do not mean that you should be a slave to any king, but only that you should assist

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them, and be useful to them. The change of the word, said he, does not alter the matter. But term it as you will, replied Peter, I do not see any other way in which you can be so useful, both in private to your friends, and to the public, and by which you can make your own condition happier. Happier! answered Raphael, is that to be compassed in a way so abhorrent to my genius? Now I live as I will, to which I believe few courtiers can pretend: and there are so many that court the favour of great men, that there will be no great loss, if they are not troubled either with me or with others of my temper. Upon this, said I, I perceive, Raphael, that you neither desire wealth nor greatness; and indeed I value and admire such a man much more than I do any of the great men in the world. Yet I think you would do what would well become so generous and philosophical a soul as yours is, if you would apply your time and thoughts to public affairs, even though you may happen to find it a little uneasy to yourself; and this you can never do with so much advantage, as by being taken into the council of some great prince, and putting him on noble and worthy actions, which I know you would do if you were in such a post; for the springs both of good and evil flow from the prince, over a whole nation, as from a lasting fountain. So much learning as you have, even without practice in affairs; or so great a practice as you have had, without any other learning, would render you a very fit counsellor to any king whatsoever. You are doubly mistaken, said he, Mr. More, both in your opinion of me, and in the judgment you make of things; for as I have not that capacity that
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you fancy I have, so, if I had it, the public would not be one jot the better, when I had sacrificed my quiet to it. For most princes apply themselves more to affairs of war than to the useful arts of peace; and in these I neither have any knowledge, nor do I much desire it: they are generally more set on acquiring new kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing well those they possess. And among the ministers of princes, there are none that are not so wise as to need no assistance, or at least that do not think themselves so wise, that they imagine they need none; and if they court any, it is only those for whom the prince has much personal favour, whom by their fawnings and flatteries they endeavour to fix to their own interests: and indeed Nature has so made us, that we all love to be flattered, and to please ourselves with our own notions. The old crow loves his young, and the ape her cubs. Now if in such a court, made up of persons who envy all others, and only admire themselves, a person should but propose any thing that he had either read in history, or observed in his travels, the rest would think that the reputation of their wisdom would sink, and that their interests would be much depressed, if they could not run it down: and if all other things failed, then they would fly to this, That such or such things pleased our ancestors, and it were well for us if we could but match them. They would set up their rest on such an answer, as a sufficient confutation of all that could be said; as if it were a great misfortune, that any should be found wiser than his ancestors: but though they willingly let go all the good things that were among those of former ages; yet, if better things are proposed, they

they cover themselves obstinately with this excuse, of reverence to past times. I have met with these proud, morose, and absurd judgments of things in many places, particularly once in England. Was you ever there, said I?—Yes, I was, answered he, and staid some months there, not long after the rebellion in the West was suppressed, with a great slaughter of the poor people that were engaged in it.

I was then much obliged to that reverend prelate John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal, and Chancellor of England; a man, said he, Peter (for Mr. More knows well what he was), that was not less venerable for his wisdom and virtues, than for the high character he bore. He was of a middle stature, not broken with age; his looks begot reverence rather than fear; his conversation was easy, but serious and grave; he sometimes took pleasure to try the force of those that came as suitors to him upon business, by speaking sharply, though decently to them, and by that he discovered their spirit and presence of mind, with which he was much delighted, when it did not grow up to impudence, as bearing a great resemblance to his own temper; and he looked on such persons as the fittest men for affairs. He spoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently skilled in the law, had a vast understanding, and a prodigious memory; and those excellent talents with which Nature had furnished him, were improved by study and experience. When I was in England, the king depended much on his counsels, and the government seemed to be chiefly supported by him; for from his youth he had been all along practised

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in affairs; and having passed through many traverses of fortune, he had with great cost acquired a vast stock of wisdom, which is not soon lost, when it is purchased so dear.

One day, when I was dining with him, there happened to be at table one of the English lawyers, who took occasion to run out in a high commendation of the severe execution of justice upon thieves, who, as he said, were then hanged so fast, that there were sometimes twenty on one gibbet; and upon that he said, he could not wonder enough how it came to pass, that since so few escaped, there were yet so many thieves left, who were still robbing in all places. Upon this, I, who took the boldness to speak freely before the cardinal, said, there was no reason to wonder at the matter, since this way of punishing thieves was neither just in itself nor good for the public; for as the severity was too great, so the remedy was not effectual; simple theft not being so great a crime, that it ought to cost a man his life; no punishment, how severe soever, being able to restrain those from robbing, who can find out no other way of livelihood. In this, said I, not only you in England, but a great part of the world, imitate some ill masters, that are readier to chastise their scholars than to teach them. There are dreadful punishments enacted against thieves; but it were much better to make such good provisions, by which every man might be put in a method how to live, and so be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing, and of dying for it.—There has been care enough taken for that, said he; there are many handicrafts, and there is husbandry, by which they
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may make a shift to live, unless they have a greater mind to follow ill courses.—That will not serve your turn, said I, for many lose their limbs in civil or foreign wars, as lately in the Cornish rebellion, and some time ago in your wars with France, who, being thus mutilated in the service of their king and country, can no more follow their old trades, and are too old to learn new ones. But since wars are only accidental things, and have intervals, let us consider those things that fall out every day. There is a great number of noblemen among you, that are themselves as idle as drones, that subsist on other men's labour—on the labour of their tenants, whom, to raise their revenues, they pare to the quick. This, indeed, is the only instance of their frugality; for in all other things they are prodigal, even to the beggaring of themselves. But, besides this, they carry about with them a great number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living; and these, as soon as either their lord dies or they themselves fall sick, are turned out of doors; for your lords are readier to feed idle people than to take care of the sick; and often the heir is not able to keep together so great a family as his predecessor did. Now, when the stomachs of those that are thus turned out of doors grow keen, they rob no less keenly. And, what else can they do? For when, by wandering about, they have worn out both their health and their clothes, and are tattered, and look ghastly, men of quality will not entertain them, and poor men dare not do it; knowing that one who has been bred up in idleness and pleasure, and who was used to walk about with
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his sword and buckler, despising all the neighbourhood with an insolent scorn, as far below him, is not fit for the spade and mattock ; nor will he serve a poor man for so small a hire, and on so low a diet as he can afford to give him. To this he answered, This sort of men ought to be particularly cherished, for in them consists the force of the armies for which we have occasion ; since their birth inspires them with a nobler sense of honour than is to be found among tradesmen or ploughmen.—You may as well say, replied I, that you must cherish thieves on the account of wars, for you will never want the one as long as you have the other ; and as robbers prove sometimes gallant soldiers, so soldiers often prove brave robbers ; so near an alliance there is between those two sorts of life. But this bad custom, so common among you, of keeping many servants, is not peculiar to this nation. In France there is yet a more pestiferous sort of people, for the whole country is full of soldiers, still kept up in time of peace, if such a state of a nation can be called a peace : and these are kept in pay upon the same account that you plead for those idle retainers about noblemen ; this being a maxim of those pretended statesmen, that it is necessary for the public safety to have a good body of veteran soldiers ever in readiness. They think raw men are not to be depended on ; and they sometimes seek occasions for making war, that they may train up their soldiers in the art of cutting throats ; or, as Sallust observed, for keeping their hands in use, that they may not grow dull by too long an intermission. But France has learned to its cost, how dangerous it is to feed such beasts. The
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fate of the Romans, Carthaginians, and Syrians, and many other nations and cities, which were both overturned and quite ruined by those standing armies, should make others wiser. And the folly of this maxim of the French appears plainly, even from this, that their trained soldiers often find your raw men prove too hard for them; of which I will not say much, lest you may think I flatter the English. Every day's experience shews, that the mechanics in the towns, or the clowns in the country, are not afraid of fighting with those idle gentlemen, if they are not disabled by some misfortune in their body, or dispirited by extreme want; so that you need not fear, that those well-shaped and strong men (for it is only such that noblemen love to keep about them, till they spoil them), who now grow feeble with ease, and are softened with their effeminate manner of life, would be less fit for action if they were well bred and well employed. And it seems very unreasonable, that, for the prospect of a war, which you need never have but when you please, you should maintain so many idle men, as will always disturb you in time of peace, which is ever to be more considered than war.

But I do not think that this necessity of stealing, arises only from hence; there is another cause of it more peculiar to England.—What is that? said the Cardinal.—The increase of pasture, said I, by which your sheep, which are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, may be said now to devour men, and unpeople, not only villages, but towns: for wherever it is found, that the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility

nobility and gentry, and even those holy men the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they living at their ease, do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead of good. They stop the course of agriculture, destroying houses and towns, reserving only the churches, and inclose grounds that they may lodge their sheep in them, as if forests and parks had swallowed up too little of the land, those worthy country men turn the best inhabited places into solitudes ; for when an unsatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country, resolves to inclose many thousand acres of ground, the owners, as well as tenants, are turned out of their possessions, by tricks or by main force, or being wearied out with ill usage, they are forced to sell them. By which means those miserable people, both men and women, married and unmarried, old and young, with their poor, but numerous families, (since country business requires many hands) are all forced to change their seats, not knowing whither to go ; and they must sell almost for nothing, their household stuff, which could not bring them much money, even though they might stay for a buyer : when that little money is at an end, for it will be soon spent ; what is left for them to do, but either to steal and so to be hanged, (God knows how justly) or to go about and beg ? And if they do this, they are put in prison as idle vagabonds ; while they would willingly work, but can find none that will hire them ; for there is no more occasion for country labour, to which they have been bred, when there is no arable ground left. One shepherd can look after a flock, which will stock an extent

extent of ground that would require many hands, if it were to be ploughed and reaped. This likewise in many places raises the price of corn. The price of wool is also so risen, that the poor people who were wont to make cloth, are no more able to buy it; and this likewise makes many of them idle. For since the increase of pasture, God has punished the avarice of the owners, by a rot among the sheep, which has destroyed vast numbers of them; to us it might have seemed more just had it fell on the owners themselves. But suppose the sheep should increase ever so much, their price is not like to fall; since though they cannot be called a monopoly, because they are not engrossed by one person, yet they are in so few hands, and these are so rich, that as they are not pressed to sell them sooner than they have a mind to it, so they never do it till they have raised the price as high as possible. And on the same account it is, that the other kinds of cattle are so dear, because many villages being pulled down, and all country labour being much neglected, there are none who make it their business to breed them. The rich do not breed cattle as they do sheep, but buy them lean, and at low prices; and after they have fattened them on their grounds, sell them again at high rates. And I do not think that all the inconveniencies this will produce, are yet observed; for as they sell the cattle dear, so, if they are consumed faster than the breeding countries from which they are brought can afford them, then the stock must decrease, and this must needs end in great scarcity; and by these means, this your island, which seemed, as to this particular, the happiest in the world, will suffer much

by the cursed avarice of a few persons ; besides this, the rising of corn makes all people lessen their families as much as they can ; and what can those who are dismissed by them do, but either beg or rob ? And to this last, a man of a great mind is much sooner drawn than to the former. Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you, to set forward your poverty and misery ; there is an excessive vanity in apparel, and great cost in diet, and that not only in noblemen's families, but even among tradesmen, among the farmers themselves, and among all ranks of persons. You have also many infamous houses, and, besides those that are known, the taverns and ale-houses are no better ; add to these, dice, cards, tables, foot-ball, tennis, and coits, in which money runs fast away ; and those that are initiated into them, must, in the conclusion, betake themselves to robbing for a supply. Banish these plagues, and give orders that those who have dispeopled so much soil, may either rebuild the villages they have pulled down, or let out their grounds to such as will do it. Restrain those engrossings of the rich, that are as bad almost as *monopolies* ; leave fewer occasions to idleness ; let agriculture be set up again, and the manufacture of the wool be regulated, that so there may be work found for those companies of idle people, whom want forces to be thieves, or who now being idle vagabonds, or useless servants, will certainly grow thieves at last. If you do not find a remedy to these evils, it is a vain thing to boast of your severity in punishing theft ; which, though it may have the appearance of justice, yet in itself is neither just nor convenient : for, if you suffer your people to be

ill educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make thieves and then punish them?

While I was talking thus, the counsellor who was present had prepared an answer, and had resolved to resume all I had said, according to the formality of a debate, in which things are generally repeated more faithfully than they are answered; as if the chief trial to be made were of men's memories. You have talked prettily for a stranger, said he, having heard of many things among us, which you have not been able to consider well; but I will make the whole matter plain to you, and will first repeat in order all that you have said, then I will shew how much your ignorance of our affairs has misled you, and will, in the last place, answer all your arguments. And that I may begin where I promised, there were four things

—Hold your peace, said the cardinal; this will take up too much time; therefore we will at present ease you of the trouble of answering, and reserve it to our next meeting, which shall be to-morrow, if Raphael's affairs and your's can admit of it. But, Raphael, said he to me, I would gladly know upon what reason it is that you think theft ought not to be punished by death. Would you give way to it? Or, do you propose any other punishment that will be more useful to the public? For, since death does not restrain theft, if men thought their lives would be safe, what fear or force could restrain ill men? On the contrary, they would look on the mitigation of the

the punishment as an invitation to commit more crimes. —I answered, It seems to me a very unjust thing to take away a man's life for a little money ; for nothing in the world can be of equal value with a man's life. And if it is said, that it is not for the money that one suffers, but for his breaking the law, I must say, extreme justice is an extreme injury ; for we ought not to approve of these terrible laws that make the smallest offence capital, nor of that opinion of the Stoics, that makes all crimes equal, as if there were no difference to be made between the killing a man and the taking his purse, between which, if we examine things impartially, there is no likeness nor proportion. God has commanded us not to kill ; and shall we kill so easily for a little money ? But, if one shall say, that by that law we are only forbid to kill any, except when the laws of the land allow of it ; upon the same grounds, laws may be made in some cases to allow of adultery and perjury ; for God having taken from us the right of disposing, either of our own, or of other people's lives, if it is pretended, that the mutual consent of men in making laws, can authorize manslaughter in cases in which God has given us no example, that it frees people from the obligation of the Divine law, and so makes murder a lawful action ; what is this, but to give a preference to human laws before the Divine ? And if this is once admitted, by the same rule, men may, in all other things, put what restrictions they please upon the laws of God. If by the Mosaical law, though it was rough and severe, as being a yoke laid on an obstinate and servile nation, men were only fined, and not put to death,

for theft, we cannot imagine that in this new law of mercy, in which God treats us with the tenderness of a father, he has given us a greater license to cruelty than he did to the Jews. Upon these reasons it is, that I think putting thieves to death is not lawful; and it is plain and obvious that it is absurd and of ill consequence to the commonwealth, that a thief and a murderer should be equally punished; for if a robber sees that his danger is the same, if he is convicted of theft, as if he were guilty of murder, this will naturally incite him to kill the person whom otherwise he would only have robbed, since, if the punishment is the same, there is more security, and less danger of discovery, when he that can best make it is put out of the way; so that terrifying thieves too much, provokes them to cruelty.

But as to the question, What more convenient way of punishment can be found? I think it is much easier to find out that, than to invent any thing that is worse. Why should we doubt but the way that was so long in use among the old Romans, who understood so well the arts of government, was very proper for their punishment? They condemned such as they found guilty of great crimes, to work their whole lives in quarries, or to dig in mines with chains about them. But the method that I liked best, was that which I observed in my travels in Persia, among the Polylerits, who are a considerable and well governed people. They pay a yearly tribute to the King of Persia; but in all other respects they are a free nation, and governed by their own laws. They lie far from the sea, and are environed with hills; and
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being contented with the productions of their own country, which is very fruitful, they have little commerce with any other nation; and as they, according to the genius of their country, have no inclination to enlarge their borders; so their mountains, and the pension they pay to the Persian, secure them from all invasions. Thus they have no wars among them; they live rather conveniently than with splendor, and may be rather called a happy nation, than either eminent or famous; for I do not think that they are known so much as by name to any but their next neighbours. Those that are found guilty of theft among them, are bound to make restitution to the owner, and not, as it is in other places, to the prince, for they reckon that the prince has no more right to the stolen goods than the thief; but if that which was stolen is no more in being, then the goods of the thieves are estimated, and restitution being made out of them, the remainder is given to their wives and children, and they themselves are condemned to serve in the public works, but are neither imprisoned nor chained, unless there happens to be some extraordinary circumstances in their crimes. They go about loose and free, working for the public. If they are idle or backward to work, they are whipped; but if they work hard, they are well used, and treated without any mark of reproach, only the lists of them are called always at night, and then they are shut up. They suffer no other uneasiness but this of constant labour; for as they work for the public, so they are well entertained out of the public stock, which is done differently in different places. In some places, whatever is bestowed on them,

them, is raised by a charitable contribution; and though this way may seem uncertain, yet so merciful are the inclinations of that people, that they are plentifully supplied by it; but in other places, public revenues are set aside for them; or there is a constant tax of a poll-money raised for their maintenance. In some places they are set to no public work, but every private man that has occasion to hire workmen, goes to the market-places and hires them of the public, a little lower than he would do a freeman: if they go lazily about their task, he may quicken them with the whip. By this means there is always some piece of work or other to be done by them; and beside their livelihood, they earn somewhat still to the public. They all wear a peculiar habit, of one certain colour, and their hair is cropt a little above their ears, and a piece of one of their ears is cut off. Their friends are allowed to give them either meat, drink, or clothes, so they are of their proper colour; but it is death, both to the giver and taker, if they give them money; nor is it less penal for any freeman to take money from them, upon any account whatsoever: and it is also death for any of these slaves (so they are called) to handle arms. Those of every division of the country, are distinguished by a peculiar mark; which it is capital for them to lay aside, to go out of their bounds, or to talk with a slave of another jurisdiction; and the very attempt of an escape, is no less penal than an escape itself; it is death for any other slave to be accessory to it; and if a freeman engages in it he is condemned to slavery: those that discover it are rewarded; if freemen, in money; and if slaves, with liberty,

liberty, together with a pardon for being accessary to it; that so they might find their account, rather in repenting of their engaging in such a design, than in persisting in it.

These are their laws and rules in relation to robbery; and it is obvious that they are as advantageous as they are mild and gentle; since vice is not only destroyed, and men preserved, but they treated in such a manner as to make them see the necessity of being honest, and of employing the rest of their lives, in repairing the injuries they have formerly done to society. Nor is there any hazard of their falling back to their old customs: and so little do travellers apprehend mischief from them, that they generally make use of them for guides, from one jurisdiction to another; for there is nothing left them by which they can rob, or be the better for it, since as they are disarmed, so the very having of money is a sufficient conviction: and as they are certainly punished if discovered, so they cannot hope to escape; for their habit being in all the parts of it different from what is commonly worn, they cannot fly away, unless they would go naked, and even then their cropp'd ear would betray them. The only danger to be feared from them, is their conspiring against the government: but those of one division and neighbourhood can do nothing to any purpose, unless a general conspiracy were laid amongst all the slaves of the several jurisdictions, which cannot be done, since they cannot meet or talk together; nor will any venture on a design where the concealment would be so dangerous, and the discovery so profitable. None are quite hopeless of recovering their freedom, since by their obedience and

patience, and by giving good grounds to believe that they will change their manner of life for the future, they may expect at last to obtain their liberty: and some are every year restored to it, upon the good character that is given of them. When I had related all this, I added, that I did not see why such a method might not be followed with more advantage, than could ever be expected from that severe justice which the counsellor magnified so much. To this he answered, That it could never take place in England, without endangering the whole nation. As he said this, he shook his head, made some grimaces, and held his peace, while all the company seemed of his opinion, except the cardinal, who said that it was not easy to form a judgment of its success, since it was a method that never yet had been tried: but if, said he, when the sentence of death was passed upon a thief, the prince would relieve him for a while, and make the experiment upon him, denying him the privilege of a sanctuary; and then if it had a good effect upon him, it might take place; and if it did not succeed, the worst would be, to execute the sentence on the condemned persons at last. And I do not see, added he, why it would be either unjust, inconvenient, or at all dangerous, to admit of such a delay: in my opinion, the vagabonds ought to be treated in the same manner; against whom, though we have made many laws, yet we have not been able to gain our end. When the cardinal had done, they all commended the motion, though they had despised it when it came from me; but more particularly commended what related to the vagabonds, because it was his own observation.

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I do not know whether it be worth while to tell what followed, for it was very ridiculous; but I shall venture at it, for as it is not foreign to this matter, so some good use may be made of it. There was a jester standing by, that counterfeited the fool so naturally, that he seemed to be really one. The jests which he offered were so cold and dull, that we laughed more at him than at them; yet sometimes he said, as it were by chance, things that were not unpleasant; so as to justify the old proverb, "That he who throws the dice often, will sometimes have a lucky hit." When one of the company had said, that I had taken care of the thieves, and the cardinal had taken care of the vagabonds, so that there remained nothing but that some public provision might be made for the poor, whom sickness or old age had disabled from labour: leave that to me, said the fool, and I shall take care of them; for there is no sort of people whose sight I abhor more, having been so often vexed with them, and with their sad complaints; but as dolefully soever as they have told their tale, they could never prevail so far as to draw one penny from me: for either I had no mind to give them any thing, or when I had a mind to do it, I had nothing to give them: and they now know me so well, that they will not lose their labour, but let me pass without giving me any trouble, because they hope for nothing, no more in faith than if I were a priest: but I would have a law made, for sending all these beggars to monasteries, the men to the Benedictines to be made lay-brothers, and the women to be nuns. The cardinal smiled, and approved of it in jest; but the rest liked it
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in earnest: there was a divine present, who though he was a grave morose man, yet he was so pleased with this reflection that was made on the priests and the monks, that he began to play with the fool, and said to him, This will not deliver you from all beggars, except you take care of us friars. That is done already, answered the fool, for the cardinal has provided for you, by what he proposed for restraining vagabonds, and setting them to work, for I know no vagabonds like you. This was well entertained by the whole company, who looking at the cardinal, perceived that he was not ill pleased at it; only the friar himself was vexed, as may be easily imagined, and fell into such a passion, that he could not forbear railing at the fool, and calling him knave, slanderer, backbiter, and son of perdition, and then cited some dreadful threatenings out of the scriptures against him. Now the jester thought he was in his element, and laid about him freely: good friar, said he, be not angry, for it is written, "In patience possess your soul." The friar answered, (for I shall give you his own words) I am not angry, you hangman; at least I do not sin in it, for the psalmist says, "Be ye angry, and sin not." Upon this the cardinal admonished him gently, and wished him to govern his passions. No, my lord, said he, I speak not but from a good zeal, which I ought to have; for holy men have had a good zeal, as it is said, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up;" and we sing in our church, that those who mocked Elisha as he went up to the house of God, felt the effects of his zeal; which that mocker, that rogue, that scoundrel, will perhaps feel.

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You do this, perhaps, with a good intention, said the cardinal; but, in my opinion, it were wiser in you, and perhaps better for you, not to engage in so ridiculous a contest with a fool.—No, my lord, answered he, that were not wisely done; for Solomon, the wisest of men, said, “Answer a fool according to his folly;” which I now do, and shew him the ditch into which he will fall, if he is not aware of it; for if the many mockers of Elisha, who was but one bald man, felt the effect of his zeal, what will become of one mocker of so many friars, among whom there are so many bald men? We have likewise a bull, by which all that jeer us are excommunicated. When the cardinal saw that there was no end of this matter, he made a sign to the fool to withdraw, turned the discourse another way; and soon after rose from the table, and, dismissing us, went to hear causes.

Thus, Mr. More, I have run out into a tedious story, of the length of which I had been ashamed, if, as you earnestly begged it of me, I had not observed you to hearken to it as if you had no mind to lose any part of it. I might have contracted it, but I resolved to give it you at large, that you might observe how those that despised what I had proposed, no sooner perceived that the cardinal did not dislike it, but presently approved of it, fawned so on him, and flattered him to such a degree, that they in good earnest applauded those things that he only liked in jest. And from hence you may gather, how little courtiers would value either me or my counsels.

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To this I answered, You have done me a great kindness in this relation; for as every thing has been related by you both wisely and pleasantly, so you have made me imagine, that I was in my own country, and grown young again, by recalling that good cardinal to my thoughts, in whose family I was bred from my childhood. And though you are upon other accounts very dear to me, yet you are the dearer, because you honour his memory so much. But, after all this, I cannot change my opinion; for I still think that if you could overcome that aversion which you have to the courts of princes, you might, by the advice which it is in your power to give, do a great deal of good to mankind; and this is the chief design that every good man ought to propose to himself in living; for your friend Plato thinks that nations will be happy, when either philosophers become kings, or kings become philosophers; it is no wonder if we are so far from that happiness, while philosophers will not think it their duty to assist kings with their counsels.—They are not so base-minded, said he, but that they would willingly do it. Many of them have already done it by their books, if those that are in power would but hearken to their good advice. But Plato judged right, that except kings themselves became philosophers, they who from their childhood are corrupted with false notions, would never fall in entirely with the counsels of philosophers; and this he himself found to be true in the person of Dionysius.

Do not you think, that if I were about any king, proposing good laws to him, and endeavouring to root out all
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the cursed seeds of evil that I found in him, I should either be turned out of his court, or at least be laughed at for my pains? For instance, what could I signify if I were about the king of France, and were called into his cabinet-council, where several wise men, in his hearing, were proposing many expedients; as by what arts and practices Milan may be kept, and Naples, that has so often slipped out of their hands, recovered; how the Venetians, and after them the rest of Italy, may be subdued; and then how Flanders, Brabant, and all Burgundy, and some other kingdoms which he has swallowed already in his designs, may be added to his empire. One proposes a league with the Venetians, to be kept as long as he finds his account in it, and that he ought to communicate councils with them, and give them some share of the spoil, till his success makes him need or fear them less, and then it will be easily taken out of their hands. Another proposes the hiring the Germans, and the securing the Switzers by pensions. Another proposes the gaining the emperor by money, which is omnipotent with him. Another proposes a peace with the king of Arragon; and, in order to cement it, the yielding up the king of Navarre's pretensions. Another thinks the prince of Castile is to be wrought on, by the hope of an alliance; and that some of his courtiers are to be gained to the French faction by pensions. The hardest point of all is what to do with England. A treaty of peace is to be set on foot; and if their alliance is not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as possible; and they are to be called friends, but suspected as enemies: therefore

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the Scots are to be kept in readines, to be let loose upon England on every occasion ; and some banished nobleman is to be supported underhand (for by the league it cannot be done avowedly), who has a pretension to the crown, by which means that suspected prince may be kept in awe. Now, when things are in so great a fermentation, and so many gallant men are joining counsels, how to carry on the war, if so mean a man as I should stand up, and wish them to change all their counsels, to let Italy alone, and stay at home, since the kingdom of France was indeed greater than could be well governed by one man ; that therefore he ought not to think of adding others to it. And if, after this, I should propose to them the resolutions of the Achorians, a people that lie on the south-east of Utopia, who long ago engaged in war, in order to add to the dominions of their prince another kingdom, to which he had some pretensions by an ancient alliance. This they conquered ; but found that the trouble of keeping it, was equal to that by which it was gained ; that the conquered people were always either in rebellion or exposed to foreign invasions, while they were obliged to be incessantly at war, either for or against them, and consequently could never disband their army ; that in the mean time they were oppressed with taxes, their money went out of the kingdom, their blood was spilt for the glory of their king, without procuring the least advantage to the people, who received not the smallest benefit from it even in time of peace ; and that their manners being corrupted by a long war, robbery and murders every where abounded, and their laws fell into contempt ; while their
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king, distracted with the care of two kingdoms, was the less able to apply his mind to the interest of either. When they saw this, and that there would be no end to these evils, they by joint councils made an humble address to their king, desiring him to choose which of the two kingdoms he had the greatest mind to keep, since he could not hold both; for they were too great a people to be governed by a divided king, since no man would willingly have a groom that should be in common between him and another. Upon which the good prince was forced to quit his new kingdom to one of his friends (who was not long after dethroned), and to be contented with his old one. To this I would add, that after all those warlike attempts, the vast confusions, and the consumption both of treasure and of people that must follow them, perhaps, upon some misfortune, they might be forced to throw up all at last; therefore it seemed much more eligible that the king should improve his ancient kingdom all he could, and make it flourish as much as possible; that he should love his people, and be beloved of them; that he should live among them, govern them gently, and let other kingdoms alone, since that which had fallen to his share was big enough, if not too big, for him. Pray, how do you think would such a speech as this be heard?—I confess, said I, I think not very well.

But what, said he, if I should sort with another kind of ministers, whose chief contrivances and consultations were, by what art the prince's treasures might be increased. Where one proposes raising the value of specie when the king's debts are large, and lowering it when his revenues

revenues were to come in, that so he might both pay much with a little, and in a little receive a great deal. Another proposes a pretence of a war, that money might be raised in order to carry it on, and that a peace be concluded as soon as that was done; and this with such appearances of religion as might work on the people, and make them impute it to the piety of their prince, and to his tenderness for the lives of his subjects. A third offers some old musty laws, that have been antiquated by a long disuse; and which, as they had been forgotten by all the subjects, so they had been also broken by them; and proposes the levying the penalties of these laws, that as it would bring in a vast treasure, so there might be a very good pretence for it, since it would look like the executing a law, and the doing of justice. A fourth proposes the prohibiting of many things under severe penalties, especially such as were against the interest of the people, and then the dispensing with these prohibitions, upon great compositions, to those who might find their advantage in breaking them. This would serve two ends, both of them acceptable to many; for as those whose avarice led them to transgress, would be severely fined, so the selling licences dear, would look as if a prince were tender of his people, and would not easily, or at low rates, dispense with any thing that might be against the public good. Another proposes, that the judges must be made sure, that they may declare always in favour of the prerogative, that they must be often sent for to court, that the king may hear them argue those points in which he is concerned; since how unjust soever any of his pretensions may

may be, yet still some one or other of them, either out of contradiction to others, or the pride of singularity, or to make their court, would find out some pretence or other to give the king a fair colour to carry the point: for if the judges but differ in opinion, the clearest thing in the world is made by that means disputable, and truth being once brought in question, the king may then take advantage to expound the law for his own profit, while the judges that stand out will be brought over, either out of fear or modesty; and they being thus gained, all of them may be sent to the bench to give sentence boldly, as the king would have it; for fair pretences will never be wanting when sentence is to be given in the prince's favour: it will either be said, that equity lies of his side, or some words in the law will be found sounding that way, or some forced sense will be put on them; and when all other things fail, the king's undoubted prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all law, and to which a religious judge ought to have a special regard. Thus all consent to that maxim of Crassus, that a prince cannot have treasure enough, since he must maintain his armies out of it; that a king, even though he would, can do nothing unjustly; that all property is in him, not excepting the very persons of his subjects; and that no man has any other property, but that which the king, out of his goodness, thinks fit to leave him: and they think it is the prince's interest, that there be as little of this left as may be, as if it were his advantage that his people should have neither riches nor liberty, since these things make them less easy and less willing to submit to a cruel and unjust

government; whereas necessity and poverty blunts them, makes them patient, beats them down, and breaks that height of spirit, that might otherwise dispose them to rebel.

Now, what if, after all these propositions were made, I should rise up and assert, that such counsels were both unbecoming a king, and mischievous to him; and that not only his honor but his safety consisted more in his people's wealth, than in his own; if I should shew that they choose a king for their own sake, and not for his; that by his care and endeavors they may be both easy and safe; and that therefore a prince ought to take more care of his people's happiness than of his own, as a shepherd is to take more care of his flock than of himself. It is also certain, that they are much mistaken that think the poverty of a nation is a means of the public safety. Who quarrel more than beggars? Who does more earnestly long for a change, than he that is uneasy in his present circumstances? And who run to create confusions with so desperate a boldness as those who, having nothing to lose, hope to gain by them? If a king should fall under such contempt or envy, that he could not keep his subjects in their duty but by oppression and ill usage, and by rendering them poor and miserable, it were certainly better for him to quit his kingdom, than to retain it by such methods, as makes him, while he keeps the name of authority, lose the majesty due to it. Nor is it so becoming the dignity of a king to reign over beggars, as over rich and happy subjects. And therefore Fabricius, a man of a noble and exalted temper, said, he would

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rather govern rich men, than be rich himself; since for one man to abound in wealth and pleasure, when all about him are mourning and groaning; is to be a gaoler and not a king: He is an unskilful physician, that cannot cure one disease without casting his patient into another: So he that can find no other way for correcting the errors of his people, but by taking from them the conveniencies of life, shews that he knows not what it is to govern a free nation. He himself ought rather to shake off his sloth, or to lay down his pride; for the contempt or hatred that his people have for him, takes its rise from the vices in himself. Let him live upon what belongs to him, without wronging others, and accommodate his expence to his revenue. Let him punish crimes, and by his wife conduct let him endeavour to prevent them, rather than be severe when he has suffered them to be too common: Let him not rashly revive laws that are abrogated by disuse, especially if they have been long forgotten, and never wanted. And let him never take any penalty for the breach of them, to which a judge would not give way in a private man, but would look on him as a crafty and unjust person for pretending to it. To these things I would add, that law among the Macarians, a people that lie not far from Utopia, by which their king, on the day on which he begins to reign, is tied by an oath confirmed by solemn sacrifices, never to have at once above a thousand pounds of gold in his treasures, or so much silver as is equal to that in value. This law, they tell us, was made by an excellent king, who had more regard to the riches of his country, than to his own wealth: and therefore provided against the heaping

up of so much treasure, as might impoverish the people: He thought that moderate sum might be sufficient for any accident; if either the king had occasion for it against rebels, or the kingdom against the invasion of an enemy; but that it was not enough to encourage a prince to invade other mens rights, a circumstance that was the chief cause of his making that law. He also thought, that it was a good provision for that free circulation of money, so necessary for the course of commerce and exchange: And when a king must distribute all those extraordinary accessions that increase treasure beyond the due pitch, it makes him less disposed to oppress his subjects. Such a king as this, will be the terror of ill men, and will be beloved by all the good.

If, I say, I should talk of these or such like things, to men that had taken their bias another way, how deaf would they be to all I could say? No doubt, very deaf, answered I; and no wonder, for one is never to offer at propositions or advice that we are certain will not be entertained. Discourses so much out of the road could not avail any thing, nor have any effect on men, whose minds were prepossessed with different sentiments. This philosophical way of speculation, is not unpleasant among friends in a free conversation; but there is no room for it in the courts of princes, where great affairs are carried on by authority. That is what I was saying, replied he, that there is no room for philosophy in the courts of princes. Yes, there is, said I, but not for this speculative philosophy, that makes every thing to be alike fitting at all times: But there is another philosophy that is more pliable, that knows
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its proper scene, accommodates itself to it, and teaches a man with propriety and decency to act that part which has fallen to his share. If when one of Plautus's comedies is upon the stage, and a company of servants are acting their parts, you should come out in the garb of a philosopher, and repeat out of Octavia, a discourse of Seneca's to Nero, would it not be better for you to say nothing, than by mixing things of such different natures, to make an impertinent tragi-comedy? For you spoil and corrupt the play that is in hand, when you mix with it things of an opposite nature, even though they are much better. Therefore go through with the play that is acting the best you can; and do not confound it, because another that is pleasanter comes into your thoughts. It is even so in a common-wealth, and in the councils of princes; if ill opinions cannot be quite rooted out, and you cannot cure some received vice according to your wishes, you must not therefore abandon the common-wealth, for the same reasons as you should not forsake the ship in a storm, because you cannot command the winds. You are not obliged to assault people with discourses that are out of their road, when you see that their received notions must prevent your making an impression upon them. You ought rather to cast about, and to manage things with all the dexterity in your power, so that if you are not able to make them go well, they may be as little ill as possible: For except all men were good, every thing cannot be right; and that is a blessing that I do not at present hope to see. According to your arguments, answered he, all that I could be able to do would be to preserve myself from

being mad while I endeavoured to cure the madness of others: For if I speak truth, I must repeat what I have said to you; and as for lying, whether a philosopher can do it or not, I cannot tell; I am sure I cannot do it. But though these discourses may be uneasy and ungrateful to them, I do not see why they should seem foolish or extravagant: Indeed if I should either propose such things as Plato has contrived in his common-wealth, or as the Utopians practise in theirs, though they might seem better, as certainly they are, yet they are so different from our establishment, which is founded on property, there being no such thing among them, that I could not expect that it would have any effect on them: But such discourses as mine, which only call past evils to mind, and give warning of what may follow, have nothing in them that is so absurd, that they may not be used at any time; for they can only be unpleasant to those who are resolved to run headlong the contrary way: And if we must let alone every thing as absurd or extravagant, which by reason of the wicked lives of many, may seem uncouth, we must, even among Christians, give over pressing the greatest part of those things that Christ hath taught us: Though he has commanded us not to conceal them, but to proclaim on the house-tops that which he taught in secret. The greatest part of his precepts are more opposite to the lives of the men of this age, than any part of my discourse has been: But the preachers seem to have learned that craft to which you advise me; for they observing that the world would not willingly suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted his doctrine, as if it had been a leaden

leaden rule, to their lives ; that so some way or other they might agree with one another. But I see no other effect of this compliance, except it be that men become more secure in their wickedness by it. And this is all the success that I can have in a court ; for I must always differ from the rest, and then I shall signify nothing ; or if I agree with them I shall then only help forward their madness. I do not comprehend what you mean by your casting about, or by the bending and handling things so dexterously, that if they go not well, they may go as little ill as may be : For in courts they will not bear with a man's holding his peace, or conniving at what others do : A man must bare-facedly approve of the worst counsels, and consent to the blackest designs : So that he could pass for a spy, or possibly for a traitor, that did but coldly approve of such wicked practices : And therefore when a man is engaged in such a society, he will be so far from being able to mend matters by his casting about, as you call it, that he will find no occasions of doing any good : The ill company will sooner corrupt him, than be the better for him : Or if notwithstanding all their ill company, he still remains steady and innocent, yet their follies and knavery will be imputed to him ; and by mixing counsels with them, he must bear his share of all the blame that belongs wholly to others.

It was no ill familie, by which Plato set forth the unreasonableness of a philosopher's meddling with government. If a man, says he, was to see a great company run out every day into the rain, and take delight in being wet ; if he knew that it would be to no purpose for him

to go and persuade them to return to their houses, in order to avoid the storm, and that all that could be expected by his going to speak to them, would be that he himself should be as wet as they; it would be best for him to keep within doors; and since he had not influence enough to correct other people's folly, to take care to preserve himself.

Though to speak plainly my real sentiments, I must freely own, that as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily: Not justly, because the best things will fall to the share of the worst men: Nor happily, because all things will be divided among a few, (and even these are not in all respects happy) the rest being left to be absolutely miserable. Therefore when I reflect on the wise and good constitution of the Utopians, among whom all things are so well governed, and with so few laws; where virtue hath its due reward, and yet there is such an equality, that every man lives in plenty. When I compare with them so many other nations that are still making new laws, and yet can never bring their constitution to a right regulation, where notwithstanding every one has his property; yet all the laws that they can invent have not the power either to obtain or preserve it, or even to enable men certainly to distinguish what is their own from what is another's; of which the many law-suits that every day break out, and are eternally depending, give too plain a demonstration: When, I say, I balance all these things in my thoughts, I grow more favourable to Plato, and do not wonder that he resolved,
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not to make any laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things: For so wise a man, could not but foresee that the setting all upon a level, was the only way to make a nation happy; which cannot be obtained so long as there is property: For when every man draws to himself all that he can compass, by one title or another, it must needs follow, that how plentiful soever a nation may be, yet a few dividing the wealth of it among themselves, the rest must fall into indigence. So that there will be two sorts of people among them, who deserve that their fortunes should be interchanged; the former useless, but wicked and ravenous; and the latter, who by their constant industry serve the public more than themselves, sincere and modest men. From whence I am persuaded, that till property is taken away, there can be no equitable or just distribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed: for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the far best part of mankind, will be still oppressed with a load of cares and anxieties. I confess without taking it quite away, those pressures that lie on a great part of mankind, may be made lighter; but they can never be quite removed. For if laws were made to determine at how great an extent in soil, and at how much money every man must stop, to limit the prince that he might not grow too great, and to restrain the people that they might not become too insolent, and that none might factiously aspire to public employments; which ought neither to be sold, nor made burthensome by a great expence; since otherwise those that serve in them, would be tempted to reimburse themselves by cheats and violence, and it would become
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necessary to find out rich men for undergoing those employments which ought rather to be trusted to the wise. These laws, I say, might have such effects, as good diet and care might have on a sick man, whose recovery is desperate; they might allay and mitigate the disease, but it could never be quite healed, nor the body politic be brought again to a good habit, as long as property remains; and it will fall out as in a complication of diseases, that by applying a remedy to one sore, you will provoke another; and that which removes the one ill symptom produces others, while the strengthening one part of the body weakens the rest. On the contrary, answered I, it seems to me that men cannot live conveniently, where all things are common: How can there be any plenty, where every man will excuse himself from labour? For as the hope of gain doth not excite him, so the confidence that he has in other men's industry, may make him slothful: If people come to be pinched with want, and yet cannot dispose of any thing as their own; what can follow upon this, but perpetual sedition and bloodshed, especially when the reverence and authority due to magistrates falls to the ground? For I cannot imagine how that can be kept up among those that are in all things equal to one another. I do not wonder, said he, that it appears so to you, since you have no notion, or at least no right one, of such a constitution: But if you had been in Utopia with me, and had seen their laws and rules, as I did, for the space of five years, in which I lived among them; and during which time I was so delighted with them, that indeed I should never have left them, if it had not been

to make the discovery of that new world to the Europeans ; you would then confess that you had never seen a people so well constituted as they. You will not easily persuade me, said Peter, that any nation in that new world is better governed than those among us. For as our understandings are not worse than theirs, so our Government, if I mistake not, being more ancient, a long practice has helped us to find out many conveniencies of life, and some happy chances have discovered other things to us, which no man's understanding could ever have invented. As for the antiquity, either of their government, or of ours, said he, you cannot pass a true judgment of it, unless you had read their histories ; for if they are to be believed, they had towns among them, before these parts were so much as inhabited : and as for those discoveries, that have been either hit on by chance, or made by ingenious men, these might have happened there as well as here. I do not deny but we are more ingenious than they are, but they exceed us much in industry and application. They knew little concerning us, before our arrival among them ; they call us all by a general name of the nations that lie beyond the equinoctial line ; for their chronicle mentions a shipwreck that was made on their coast 1200 years ago ; and that some Romans and Egyptians that were in the ship, getting safe ashore, spent the rest of their days amongst them ; and such was their ingenuity, that from this single opportunity, they drew the advantage of learning from those unlooked for guests, and acquired all the useful arts that were then among the Romans, and which were known to these shipwrecked men : and by the hints that they gave them, they themselves found

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out even some of those arts which they could not fully explain; so happily did they improve that accident, of having some of our people cast upon their shore. But if such an accident has at any time brought any from thence into Europe, we have been so far from improving it, that we do not so much as remember it; as in after times perhaps it will be forgot by our people that I was ever there. For though they from one such accident, made themselves masters of all the good inventions that were among us; yet I believe it would be long before we should learn or put in practice any of the good institutions that are among them: and this is the true cause of their being better governed, and living happier than we, though we come not short of them in point of understanding, or outward advantages. Upon this I said to him, I earnestly beg you would describe that island very particularly to us. Be not too short, but set out in order all things relating to their soil, their rivers, their towns, their people, their manners, constitution, laws, and in a word, all that you imagine we desire to know: and you may well imagine that we desire to know every thing concerning them, of which we are hitherto ignorant. I will do it very willingly, said he, for I have digested the whole matter carefully; but it will take up some time. Let us go then, said I, first and dine, and then we shall have leisure enough. He consented. We went in and dined, and after dinner came back, and sat down in the same place. I ordered my servants to take care that none might come and interrupt us: and both Peter and I desired Raphael to be as good as his word: when he saw that we were very intent upon it, he paused a little to recollect himself, and began in this manner.

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DISCOURSES, &c.

THE SECOND BOOK.

THE island of Utopia is in the middle two hundred miles broad, and holds almost at the same breadth over a great part of it ; but it grows narrower towards both ends. Its figure is not unlike a crescent : between its horns, the sea comes in eleven miles broad, and spreads itself into a great bay, which is environed with land to the compass of about five hundred miles, and is well secured from winds : in this bay there is no great current, the whole coast is, as it were, one continued harbour, which gives all that live in the island great convenience for mutual commerce : but the entry into the bay, occasioned by rocks on the one hand, and shallows on the other, is very dangerous. In the middle of it there is one single rock which appears above water, and may therefore easily be avoided, and on the top of it there is a tower in which a garrison is kept, the other rocks lie under water, and are very dangerous. The channel is known only to the natives, so that if any stranger should enter into the bay, without one of their pilots, he would run great danger of shipwreck ; for even they themselves could not pass it safe, if some marks that are on the coast did not direct their way ; and if these should be but a little shifted, any fleet that might come against them, how great soever it were, would be certainly lost. On the other side of the island, there are likewise many harbours ; and the coast is
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so fortified, both by nature and art, that a small number of men can hinder the descent of a great army. But they report (and there remains good marks of it to make it credible) that this was no island at first, but a part of the continent. Utopus, that conquered it (whose name it still carries, for Abraxa was its first name) brought the rude and uncivilized inhabitants into such a good government, and to that measure of politeness, that they now far excel all the rest of mankind; having soon subdued them, he designed to separate them from the continent, and to bring the sea quite round them. To accomplish this, he ordered a deep channel to be dug fifteen miles long; and that the natives might not think he treated them like slaves, he not only forced the inhabitants, but also his own soldiers, to labour in carrying it on. As he set a vast number of men to work, he beyond all mens expectations brought it to a speedy conclusion. And his neighbours who at first laughed at the folly of the undertaking, no sooner saw it brought to perfection, than they were struck with admiration and terror.

There are fifty-four cities in the island, all large and well built: the manners, customs, and laws of which are the same, and they are all contrived as near in the same manner as the ground on which they stand will allow: the nearest lie at least twenty-four miles distance from one another, and the most remote are not so far distant, but that a man can go on foot in one day from it, to that which lies next it. Every city sends three of their wisest senators once a year to Amaurot, to consult about their common concerns; for that is the chief town of the island,

island, being situated near the center of it, so that it is the most convenient place for their assemblies. The jurisdiction of every city extends at least twenty miles: and where the towns lie wider, they have much more ground; no town desires to enlarge its bounds, for the people consider themselves rather as tenants than landlords. They have built over all the country, farm houses for husbandmen, which are well contrived, and are furnished with all things necessary for country labour. Inhabitants are sent by turns from the cities to dwell in them; no country family has fewer than forty men and women in it, besides two slaves. There is a master and a mistress set over every family; and over thirty families there is a magistrate. Every year twenty of this family come back to the town, after they have stayed two years in the country: and in their room there are other twenty sent from the town, that they may learn country work, from those that have been already one year in the country, as they must teach those that come to them the next from the town. By this means such as dwell in those country farms, are never ignorant of agriculture, and so commit no errors, which might otherwise be fatal, and bring them under a scarcity of corn. But though there is every year such a shifting of the husbandmen, to prevent any man being forced against his will to follow that hard course of life too long; yet many among them take such pleasure in it, that they desire leave to continue in it many years. These husbandmen till the ground, breed cattle, hew wood, and convey it to the towns, either by land or water, as is most convenient. They breed an infinite multitude of chickens in a
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very curious manner: for the hens do not sit and hatch them; but vast numbers of eggs are laid in a gentle and equal heat, in order to be hatched; and they are no sooner out of the shell, and able to stir about, but they seem to consider those that feed them as their mothers, and follow them as other chickens do the hen that hatched them. They breed very few horses, but those they have are full of mettle, and are kept only for exercising their youth in the art of sitting and riding them; for they do not put them to any work, either of plowing or carriage, in which they employ oxen; for though their horses are stronger, yet they find oxen can hold out longer; and as they are not subject to so many diseases, so they are kept upon a less charge, and with less trouble: and even when they are so worn out, that they are no more fit for labour, they are good meat at last. They sow no corn, but that which is to be their bread; for they drink either wine, cyder or perry, and often water, sometimes boiled with honey or liquofice, with which they abound; and though they know exactly how much corn will serve every town, and all that tract of country which belongs to it, yet they sow much more, and breed more cattle than are necessary for their consumption: and they give that overplus of which they make no use to their neighbours. When they want any thing in the country which it does not produce, they fetch that from the town, without carrying any thing in exchange for it: and the magistrates of the town take care to see it given them: for they meet generally in the town once a month, upon a festival day. When the time of harvest comes, the magistrates in the country send

to those in the towns, and let them know how many hands they will need for reaping the harvest; and the number they call for being sent to them, they commonly dispatch it all in one day.

OF THEIR TOWNS,

PARTICULARLY OF

AMAUROT.

HE that knows one of their towns, knows them all, they are so like one another, except where the situation makes some difference. I shall therefore describe one of them; and none is so proper as Amaurot: for as none is more eminent, all the rest yielding in precedence to this, because it is the seat of their supreme council; so there was none of them better known to me, I having lived five years altogether in it.

It lies upon the side of a hill, or rather a rising ground: its figure is almost square, for from the one side of it, which shoots up almost to the top of the hill, it runs down in a descent for two miles to the river Anider; but it is a little broader the other way that runs along by the bank of that river. The Anider rises about eighty miles above Amaurot, in a small spring at first; but other brooks falling into it, of which two are more considerable than the rest, as it runs by Amaurot, it is grown half a mile broad, but it still grows larger and larger, till after sixty

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miles course below it, it is lost in the ocean, between the town and the sea, and for some miles above the town, it ebbs and flows every six hours, with a strong current. The tide comes up for about thirty miles so full, that there is nothing but salt water in the river, the fresh water being driven back with its force; and above that, for some miles, the water is brackish, but a little higher, as it runs by the town, it is quite fresh; and when the tide ebbs, it continues fresh all along to the sea. There is a bridge cast over the river, not of timber, but of fair stone, consisting of many stately arches; it lies at that part of the town which is farthest from the sea, so that ships without any hindrance lie all along the side of the town. There is likewise another river that runs by it, which though it is not great, yet it runs pleasantly, for it rises out of the same hill on which the town stands, and so runs down through it, and falls into the Anider. The inhabitants have fortified the fountain-head of this river, which springs a little without the town; that so if they should happen to be besieged, the enemy might not be able to stop or divert the course of the water, nor poison it; from thence it is carried in earthen pipes to the lower streets: and for those places of the town to which the water of that small river cannot be conveyed, they have great cisterns for receiving the rain-water, which supplies the want of the other. The town is compassed with a high and thick wall, in which there are many towers and forts; there is also a broad and deep dry ditch, set thick with thorns, cast round three sides of the town, and the river is instead of a ditch on the fourth side. The streets are
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very convenient for all carriage, and are well sheltered from the winds. Their buildings are good, and are so uniform, that a whole side of a street looks like one house. The streets are twenty feet broad; there lie gardens behind all their houses; these are large but enclosed with buildings, that on all hands face the streets; so that every house has both a door to the street, and a back door to the garden: their doors have all two leaves, which as they are easily opened, so they shut of their own accord; and there being no property among them, every man may freely enter into any house whatsoever. At every ten years end they shift their houses by lots. They cultivate their gardens with great care, so that they have both vines, fruits, herbs and flowers in them; and all is so well ordered, and so finely kept, that I never saw gardens any where that were both so fruitful and so beautiful as theirs. And this humour of ordering their gardens so well, is not only kept up by the pleasure they find in it, but also by an emulation between the inhabitants of the several streets, who vie with each other; and there is indeed nothing belonging to the whole town, that is both more useful, and more pleasant. So that he who founded the town, seems to have taken care of nothing more than of their gardens; for they say, the whole scheme of the town was designed at first by Utopus, but he left all that belonged to the ornament and improvement of it, to be added by those that should come after him, that being too much for one man to bring to perfection. Their records, that contain the history of their town and state, are preserved with an exact care, and run backwards 1760 years.

From these it appears, that their houses were at first low and mean, like cottages, made of any sort of timber, and were built with mud walls, and thatched with straw: but now their houses are three stories high, the fronts of them are faced either with stone, plaistering, or brick; and between the sayings of their walls, they throw in their rubbish; their roofs are flat, and on them they lay a sort of plaister which costs very little, and yet is so tempered, that it is not apt to take fire, and yet resists the weather more than lead. They have great quantities of glass among them, with which they glaze their windows: they use also in their windows, a thin linen cloth, that is so oiled or gummed, that it both keeps out the wind, and gives free admission to the light.

OF THEIR

MAGISTRATES.

THIRTY families choose every year a magistrate, who was anciently called the Syphogrant, but is now called the Philarch: and over every ten Syphogrants with the families subject to them, there is another magistrate, who was anciently called the Tranibore, but of late the Archphilarch. All the Syphogrants, who are in number 200, choose the prince out of a list of four, who are named by the people of the four divisions of the city, but they take an oath before they proceed to an election, that they will choose him whom they think most fit for the office: they give their voices secretly, so that it is not known for whom every one gives his suffrage. The prince is for life, unless he is removed upon suspicion of some design to enslave the people.

people. The Tranibors are new chosen every year, but yet they are for the most part continued: all their other magistrates are only annual. The Tranibors meet every third day, and oftener if necessary, and consult with the prince, either concerning the affairs of the state in general, or such private differences as may arise sometimes among the people; though that falls out but seldom. There are always two Syphogrants called in to the council-chamber, and these are changed every day. It is a fundamental rule of their government, that no conclusion can be made in any thing that relates to the public, till it has been first debated three several days in their council. It is death for any to meet and consult concerning the state, unless it be either in their ordinary council, or in the assembly of the whole body of the people.

These things have been so provided among them, that the Prince and the Tranibors may not conspire together to change the government, and enslave the people; and therefore when any thing of great importance is set on foot, it is sent to the Syphogrants; who after they have communicated it to the families that belong to their divisions, and have considered it among themselves, make report to the senate; and upon great occasions, the matter is referred to the council of the whole island. One rule observed in their council, is, never to debate a thing on the same day in which it is first proposed; for that is always referred to the next meeting, that so men may not rashly, and in the heat of discourse, engage themselves too soon, which might bias them so much, that instead of consulting the good of the public, they might rather study to support their first opinions;

opinions; and by a perverse and preposterous sort of shame, hazard their country, rather than endanger their own reputation, or venture the being suspected to have wanted foresight in the expedients that they at first proposed. And therefore to prevent this, they take care that they may rather be deliberate, than sudden in their motions.

OF THEIR TRADES,

AND

MANNER OF LIFE.

AGRICULTURE is that which is so universally understood among them, that no person either man or woman, is ignorant of it; they are instructed in it from their childhood, partly by what they learn at school, and partly by practice; they being led out often into the fields, about the town, where they not only see others at work, but are likewise exercised in it themselves. Besides agriculture, which is so common to them all, every man has some peculiar trade to which he applies himself, such as the manufacture of wool or flax, masonry, smith's work, or carpenter's work; for there is no sort of trade that is in great esteem among them. Throughout the island they wear the same sort of clothes without any other distinction, except what is necessary to distinguish the two sexes, and the married and unmarried. The fashion never alters; and as it is neither disagreeable nor uneasy, so it is suited to the climate, and calculated both for their summers and winters. Every family makes their own clothes; but all among them,

women

women as well as men, learn one or other of the trades formerly mentioned. Women, for the most part, deal in wool and flax, which suit best with their weakness, leaving the ruder trades to the men. The same trade generally passes down from father to son, inclinations often following descent: but if any man's genius lies another way, he is by adoption translated into a family that deals in the trade to which he is inclined: and when that is to be done, care is taken not only by his father, but by the magistrate, that he may be put to a discreet and good man. And if after a person has learned one trade, he desires to acquire another, that is also allowed, and is managed in the same manner as the former. When he has learned both, he follows that which he likes best, unless the public has more occasion for the other.

The chief, and almost the only business of the Syphogrants, is to take care that no man may live idle, but that every man may follow his trade diligently: yet they do not wear themselves out with perpetual toil, from morning to night, as if they were beasts of burden, which as it is indeed a heavy slavery, so it is every where the common course of life amongst all mechanics except the Utopians: but they dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours, appoint six of these for work; three of which are before dinner, and three after: they then sup, and at eight o'clock, counting from noon, go to bed and sleep eight hours. The rest of their time, besides that taken up in work, eating and sleeping is left to every man's discretion; yet they are not to abuse that interval to luxury and idleness, but must employ it in some proper exercise according

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ing to their various inclinations, which is for the most part reading. It is ordinary to have public lectures every morning before day-break; at which none are obliged to appear, but those who are marked out for literature; yet a great many, both men and women of all ranks, go to hear lectures of one sort or other, according to their inclinations. But if others, that are not made for contemplation, choose rather to employ themselves at that time in their trades, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are rather commended, as men that take care to serve their country. After supper, they spend an hour in some diversion, in summer in their gardens, and in winter in the halls where they eat; where they entertain each other, either with music or discourse. They do not so much as know dice, or any such foolish and mischievous games: they have, however, two sorts of games not unlike our chess; the one is between several numbers, in which one number, as it were consumes another: the other resembles a battle between the virtues and the vices, in which the enmity in the vices among themselves, and their agreement against virtue is not unpleasantly represented, together with the special oppositions between the particular virtues and vices; as also the methods by which vice either openly assaults, or secretly undermines virtue; and virtue on the other hand resists it. But the time appointed for labour, is to be narrowly examined, otherwise you may imagine, that since there are only fix hours appointed for work, they may fall under a scarcity of necessary provisions. But it is so far from being true, that this time is not sufficient for supplying them with

with plenty of all things, either necessary or convenient, that it is rather too much ; and this you will easily apprehend, if you consider how great a part of all other nations is quite idle. First, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind ; and if some few women are diligent, their husbands are idle ; then consider the great company of idle priests, and of those that are called religious men ; add to these all rich men, chiefly those that have estates in land, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families, made up of idle persons, that are kept more for show than use. Add to these, all those strong and lusty beggars, that go about pretending some disease, in excuse for their begging ; and upon the whole account you will find, that the number of those by whose labours mankind is supplied, is much less than you perhaps imagined : then consider how few of those that work, are employed in labours that are of real service : for we who measure all things by money, give rise to many trades that are both vain and superfluous, and serve only to support riot and luxury. For if those who work, were employed only in such things as the conveniencies of life require, there would be such an abundance of them, that the prices of them would so sink, that tradesmen could not be maintained by their gains ; if all those who labour about useless things, were set to more profitable employments ; and if all they that languish out their lives in sloth and idleness, every one of whom consumes as much as any two of the men that are at work, were forced to labour, you may easily imagine that a small proportion
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of time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable, or pleasant to mankind, especially while pleasure is kept within its due bounds: this appears very plainly in Utopia, for there, in a great city, and in all the territory that lies round it, you can scarce find five hundred, either men or women, by their age and strength capable of labour, that are not engaged in it; even the Syphogrants, though excused by the law, yet do not excuse themselves, but work, that by their examples they may excite the industry of the rest of the people; the like exemption is allowed to those, who being recommended to the people by the priests, are by the secret suffrages of the Syphogrants, privileged from labour, that they may apply themselves wholly to study; and if any of these fall short of those hopes that they seemed at first to give, they are obliged to return to work. And sometimes a mechanic, that so employs his leisure hours, as to make a considerable advancement in learning, is eased from being a tradesman, and ranked among their learned men. Out of these they choose their ambassadors, their priests, their Tranibors, and the prince himself; anciently called their Barzenes, but he is called of late their Ademus.

And thus from the great numbers among them, that are neither suffered to be idle, nor to be employed in any fruitless labour, you may easily make the estimate, how much may be done in those few hours in which they are obliged to labour. But besides all that has been already said, it is to be considered, that the needful arts among them, are

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managed with less labour than any where else. The building, or the repairing of houses among us, employ many hands, because often a thrifless heir suffers a house that his father built, to fall into decay, so that his successor must, at a great cost, repair that which he might have kept up with a small charge. It frequently happens, that the same house which one person built at a vast expence, is neglected by another, who thinks he has a more delicate sense of the beauties of architecture; and he suffering it to fall to ruin, builds another at no less charge. But among the Utopians, all things are so regulated, that men very seldom build upon a new piece of ground; and are not only very quick in repairing their houses, but showing their foresight in preventing their decay: so that their buildings are preserved very long, with but little labour; and thus the builders to whom that care belongs, are often without employment, except the hewing of timber, and the squaring of stones, that the materials may be in readiness for raising a building very suddenly, when there is any occasion for it. As to their clothes, observe how little work is spent in them. While they are at labour, they are cloathed with leather and skins, cast carelessly about them, which will last seven years; and when they appear in public, they put on an upper garment, which hides the other; and these are all of one colour, and that is the natural colour of the wool. As they need less woollen cloth than is used any where else, so that which they make use of is much less costly. They use linen cloth more; but that is prepared with less labour, and they value cloth only by the whiteness of the linen, or the cleanness of the wool, without much regard to the fineness

fineness of the thread: while in other places, four or five upper garments of woollen cloth, of different colours, and as many vests of silk will scarce serve one man; and while those that are nicer think ten too few; every man there is content with one, which very often serves him two years. Nor is there any thing that can tempt a man to desire more; for if he had them, he would neither be the warmer, nor would he make one jot the better appearance for it. And thus, since they are all employed in some useful labour; and since they content themselves with fewer things, it falls out that there is a great abundance of all things among them; so that it frequently happens, that for want of other work, vast numbers are sent out to mend the highways. But when no public undertaking is to be performed, the hours of working are lessened. The magistrates never engage the people in unnecessary labour, since the chief end of the constitution is to regulate labour by the necessities of the public, and to allow all the people as much time as is necessary for the improvement of their minds, in which they think the happiness of life consists.

OF THEIR

TRAFFIC.

BUT it is now time to explain to you the mutual intercourse of this people, their commerce, and the rules by which all things are distributed among them.

As their cities are composed of families, so their families are made up of those that are nearly related to one another. Their women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the males, both children and grandchildren, live still in the same house, in great obedience to their common parent, unless age has weakened his understanding; and in that case he that is next to him in age, comes in his room. But lest any city should become either too great, or by any accident be dispeopled, provision is made that none of their cities may contain above six thousand families, besides those of the country round it. No family may have less than ten, nor more than sixteen persons in it; but there can be no determined number for the children under age. This rule is easily observed, by removing some of the children of a more fruitful couple, to any other family that does not abound so much in them. By the same rule, they supply cities that do not increase so fast, from others that breed faster. And if there is any increase over the whole island, then they draw out a number of their citizens out of the several towns, and send them over to the neighbouring continent; where, if they find that the inhabitants have more soil than they can well cultivate, they fix a colony, taking the inhabitants into their society, if they are willing to live with them; and where they do that of their own accord, they quickly enter into their method of life, and conform to their rules, and this proves a happiness to both nations; for according to their constitution, such care is taken of the soil, that it becomes fruitful enough for both, though it might be otherwise too narrow and barren for any one of them. But if the natives refuse to conform themselves to their laws, they

they drive them out of those bounds which they mark out for themselves, and use force if they resist. For they account it a very just cause of war, for a nation to hinder others from possessing a part of that soil, of which they make no use, but which is suffered to lie idle and uncultivated; since every man has by the law of nature a right to such a waste portion of the earth, as is necessary for his subsistence. If an accident has so lessened the number of the inhabitants of any of their towns, that it cannot be made up from the other towns of the island, without diminishing them too much, which is said to have fallen out but twice, since they were first a people, when great numbers were carried off by the plague; the loss is then supplied by recalling as many as are wanted from their colonies; for they will abandon these, rather than suffer the towns in the island to sink too low.

But to return to their manner of living in society: the oldest man of every family, as has been already said, is its governor. Wives serve their husbands, and children their parents, and always the younger serves the elder. Every city is divided into four equal parts, and in the middle of each there is a market-place: what is brought thither, and manufactured by the several families, is carried from thence to houses appointed for that purpose, in which all things of a sort are laid by themselves; and thither every father goes and takes whatsoever he or his family stand in need of, without either paying for it, or leaving any thing in exchange. There is no reason for giving a denial to any person, since there is such plenty of every thing among them: and there is no danger

ger of a man's asking for more than he needs; they have no inducements to do this, since they are sure that they shall always be supplied: it is the fear of want that makes any of the whole race of animals, either greedy or ravenous; but besides fear, there is in man a pride that makes him fancy it a particular glory to excel others in pomp and excess. But by the laws of the Utopians, re: no room for this. Near these markets there are others for all sorts of provisions, where there are not only herbs, fruits, and bread, but also fish, fowl, and cattle. There are also without their towns, places appointed near some running water, for killing their beasts, and for washing away their filth; which is done by their slaves: for they suffer none of their citizens to kill their cattle, because they think, that pity and good nature, which are among the best of those affections that are born with us, are much impaired by the butchering of animals: nor do they suffer any thing that is foul or unclean to be brought within their towns, lest the air should be infected by ill smells which might prejudice their health. In every street there are great halls that lie at an equal distance from each other, distinguished by particular names. The Syphogrants dwell in those, that are set over thirty families, fifteen lying on one side of it, and as many on the other. In these halls they all meet and have their repasts. The stewards of every one of them come to the market-place at an appointed hour; and according to the number of those that belong to the hall, they carry home provisions. But they take more care of their sick, than of any others: these are lodged

lodged and provided for in public hospitals: they have belonging to every town four hospitals, that are built without their walls, and are so large, that they may pass for little towns: by this means, if they had ever such a number of sick persons, they could lodge them conveniently, and at such a distance, that such of them as are sick of infectious diseases, may be kept so far from the rest, that there can be no danger of contagion. The hospitals are furnished and stored with all things that are convenient for the ease and recovery of the sick; and those that are put in them, are looked after with such tender and watchful care, and are so constantly attended by their skilful physicians; that as none are sent to them against their will, so there is scarce one in a whole town, that if he should fall ill, would not choose rather to go thither, than lie sick at home.

After the steward of the hospitals has taken for the sick whatsoever the physician prescribes, then the best things that are left in the market are distributed equally among the halls, in proportion to their numbers, only, in the first place, they serve the prince, the chief priest, the Tranibors, the ambassadors, and strangers, if there are any, which indeed falls out but seldom, and for whom there are houses well furnished, particularly appointed for their reception when they come among them. At the hours of dinner and supper, the whole syphogranty being called together by sound of trumpet, they meet and eat together, except only such as are in the hospitals, or lie sick at home. Yet after the halls are served, no man is hindered to carry provisions home from

from the market-place ; for they know that none does that but for some good reason ; for though any that will may eat at home, yet none does it willingly, since it is both ridiculous and foolish for any to give themselves the trouble to make ready an ill dinner at home, when there is a much more plentiful one made ready for him so near hand. All the uneasy and fordid services about these halls, are performed by their slaves ; but the dressing and cooking their meat, and the ordering their tables, belong only to the women, all those of every family taking it by turns. They sit at three or more tables, according to their number ; the men sit towards the wall, and the women sit on the other side, that if any of them should be taken suddenly ill, which is no uncommon case amongst women with child, she may, without disturbing the rest, rise and go to the nurse's room, who are there with the sucking children ; where there is always clean water at hand, and cradles in which they may lay the young children, if there is occasion for it, and a fire that they may shift and dress them before it. Every child is nursed by its own mother, if death or sickness does not intervene ; and in that case the Syphogrants wives find out a nurse quickly, which is no hard matter ; for any one that can do it, offers herself cheerfully : for as they are much inclined to that piece of mercy, so the child whom they nurse, considers the nurse as its mother. All the children under five years old, sit among the nurses, the rest of the younger sort of both sexes, till they are fit for marriage, either serve those that sit at table ; or if they are not strong enough for that, stand by them in great silence, and eat what is given them ;

nor have they any other formality of dining. In the middle of the first table, which stands across the upper end of the hall, sit the Syphogrant and his wife; for that is the chief and most conspicuous place. Next to him sit two of the most ancient, for there go always four to a mess. If there is a temple within that Syphogranty, the priest and his wife sit with the Syphogrant above all the rest. Next them there is a mixture of old and young, who are so placed, that as the young are set near others, so they are mixed with the more ancient; which they say was appointed on this account, that the gravity of the old people, and the reverence that is due to them, might restrain the younger from all indecent words and gestures. Dishes are not served up to the whole table at first, but the best are first set before the old, whose seats are distinguished from the young, and after them all the rest are served alike. The old men distribute to the younger any curious meats that happen to be set before them, if there is not such an abundance of them that the whole company may be served alike.

Thus old men are honored with a particular respect; yet all the rest fare as well as they. Both dinner and supper are begun with some lecture of morality that is read to them; but it is so short, that it is not tedious nor uneasy to them to hear it. From hence the old men take occasion to entertain those about them, with some useful and pleasant enlargements; but they do not engross the whole discourse so to themselves, during their meals, that the younger may not put in for a share; on the contrary, they engage them to talk, that so they may in that free way

way of conversation, find out the force of every one's spirit, and observe his temper. They dispatch their dinners quickly, but sit long at supper; because they go to work after the one, and are to sleep after the other, during which they think the stomach carries on the concoction more vigorously. They never sup without music; and there is always fruit served up after meat; while they are at table, some burn perfumes, and sprinkle about fragrant ointments, and sweet waters; in short they want nothing that may cheer up their spirits. They give themselves a large allowance that way, and indulge themselves in all such pleasures as are attended with no inconvenience. Thus do those that are in the towns live together; but in the country, where they live at great distance, every one eats at home, and no family wants any necessary sort of provision, for it is from them that provisions are sent unto those that live in the towns.

OF THE TRAVELLING

OF THE

UTOPIANS.

IF any man has a mind to visit his friends that live in some other town, or desires to travel and see the rest of the country, he obtains leave very easily from the Syphogrant and Tranibors, when there is no particular occasion for him at home. Such as travel, carry with them a pass-

port from the prince, which both certifies the licence that is granted for travelling, and limits the time of their return. They are furnished with a waggon and a slave, who drives the oxen, and looks after them; but unless there are women in the company, the waggon is sent back at the end of the journey as a needless incumbrance. While they are on the road, they carry no provisions with them; yet they want nothing, but are every where treated as if they were at home. If they stay in any place longer than a night, every one follows his proper occupation, and is very well used by those of his own trade. But if any man goes out of the city to which he belongs, without leave, and is found rambling without a passport, he is severely treated, he is punished as a fugitive, and sent home disgracefully; and if he falls again into the like fault, is condemned to slavery. If any man has a mind to travel only over the precinct of his own city, he may freely do it with his father's permission, and his wife's consent; but when he comes into any of the country houses, if he expects to be entertained by them, he must labour with them and conform to their rules: and if he does this, he may freely go over the whole precinct; being thus as useful to the city to which he belongs, as if he were still within it. Thus you see that there are no idle persons among them, nor pretences of excusing any from labour. There are no taverns, no ale houses nor stews among them; nor any other occasions of corrupting each other, of getting into corners, or forming themselves into parties. All men live in full view, so that all are obliged, both to perform their ordinary task, and to employ themselves well in

in their spare hours. And it is certain, that a people thus ordered, must live in great abundance of all things; and these being equally distributed among them, no man can want, or be obliged to beg.

In their great council at Amaurot, to which there are three sent from every town once a year, they examine what towns abound in provisions, and what are under any scarcity, that so the one may be furnished from the other; and this is done freely, without any sort of exchange; for according to their plenty or scarcity, they supply, or are supplied from one another; so that indeed the whole island is, as it were, one family. When they have thus taken care of their whole country, and laid up stores for two years, which they do to prevent the ill consequences of an unfavourable season, they order an exportation of the overplus, both of corn, honey, wool, flax, wood, wax, tallow, leather and cattle; which they send out commonly in great quantities to other nations. They order a seventh part of all these goods to be freely given to the poor of the countries to which they send them, and sell the rest at moderate rates. And by this exchange, they not only bring back those few things that they need at home (for indeed they scarce need any thing but iron) but likewise a great deal of gold and silver; and by their driving this trade so long, it is not to be imagined how vast a treasure they have got among them; so that now they do not much care whether they sell off their merchandize for money in hand, or upon trust. A great part of their treasure is now in bonds; but in all their contracts no private man stands bound, but the writing runs in the name of the town; and the towns that owe them money, raise it from those private hands

that owe it to them, lay it up in their public chamber, or enjoy the profit of it till the Utopians call for it; and they choose rather to let the greatest part of it lie in their hands, who make advantage by it, than to call for it themselves: But if they see that any of their other neighbours stand more in need of it, then they call it in and lend it to them: whenever they are engaged in war, which is the only occasion in which their treasury can be usefully employed, they make use of it themselves. In great extremities or sudden accidents they employ it in hiring foreign troops, whom they more willingly expose to danger than their own people: they give them great pay, knowing well that this will work even on their enemies, that it will engage them either to betray their own side, or at least to desert it, and that it is the best means of raising mutual jealousies among them: for this end they have an incredible treasure; but they do not keep it as a treasure, but in such a manner as I am almost afraid to tell, lest you think it so extravagant, as to be hardly credible. This I have the more reason to apprehend, because if I had not seen it myself, I could not have been easily persuaded to have believed it upon any man's report.

It is certain that all things appear incredible to us, in proportion as they differ from our own customs. But one who can judge aright, will not wonder to find, that since their constitution differs so much from ours, their value of gold and silver should be measured by a very different standard; for since they have no use for money among themselves, but keep it as a provision against events

events which seldom happen, and between which there are generally long intervening intervals; they value it no farther than it deserves, that is, in proportion to its use. So that it is plain, they must prefer iron either to gold or silver: for men can no more live without iron, than without fire or water; but nature has marked out no use for the other metals, so essential as not easily to be dispensed with. The folly of men has enhanced the value of gold and silver, because of their scarcity. Whereas on the contrary, it is their opinion, that nature, as an indulgent parent, has freely given us all the best things in great abundance, such as water and earth, but has laid up and hid from us the things that are vain and useless.

If these metals were laid up in any tower in the kingdom, it would raise a jealousy of the prince and senate, and give birth to that foolish mistrust into which the people are apt to fall, a jealousy of their intending to sacrifice the interest of the public to their own private advantage. If they should work it into vessels, or any sort of plate, they fear that the people might grow too fond of it, and so be unwilling to let the plate be run down, if a war made it necessary to employ it in paying their soldiers. To prevent all these inconveniences, they have fallen upon an expedient, which as it agrees with their other policy, so is it very different from ours, and will scarce gain belief among us, who value gold so much, and lay it up so carefully. They eat and drink out of vessels of earth, or glass, which make an agreeable appearance, though formed of brittle materials;

materials: while they make their chamber-pots and close-stools of gold and silver; and that not only in their public halls, but in their private houses: of the same metals they likewise make chains and fetters for their slaves; to some of which, as a badge of infamy, they hang an ear-ring of gold, and make others wear a chain or a coronet of the same metal; and thus they take care by all possible means, to render gold and silver of no esteem: and from hence it is, that while other nations part with their gold and silver, as unwillingly as if one tore out their bowels, those of Utopia would look on their giving in all they possess of those metals, (when there were any use for them) but as the parting with a trifle, or as we would esteem the loss of a penny. They find pearls on their coast; and diamonds, and carbuncles on their rocks: they do not look after them; but if they find them by chance, they polish them, and with them they adorn their children, who are delighted with them, and glory in them during their childhood; but when they grow to years, and see that none but children use such baubles, they of their own accord, without being bid by their parents, lay them aside; and would be as much ashamed to use them afterwards, as children among us, when they come to years, are of their puppets, and other toys.

I never saw a clearer instance of the opposite impressions that different customs make on people, than I observed in the ambassadors of the Anemolians, who came to Amaurot when I was there: as they came

to treat of affairs of great consequence, the deputies from several towns met together to wait for their coming. The ambassadors of the nations that lie near Utopia, knowing their customs, and that fine clothes are in no esteem among them, that silk is despised, and gold is a badge of infamy, used to come very modestly clothed; but the Anemolians lying more remote, and having had little commerce with them, understanding that they were coarsely clothed, and all in the same manner, took it for granted that they had none of those fine things among them of which they made no use; and they being a vain-glorious, rather than a wise people, resolved to set themselves out with so much pomp, that they should look like gods, and strike the eyes of the poor Utopians with their splendour. Thus three ambassadors made their entry with an hundred attendants, all clad in garments of different colours, and the greater part in silk; the ambassadors themselves, who were of the nobility of their country, were in cloth of gold, and adorned with massy chains, ear-rings and rings of gold: their caps were covered with bracelets set full of pearls and other gems: in a word, they were set out with all those things, that, among the Utopians, were either the badges of slavery, the marks of infamy, or the play-things of children. It was not unpleasant to see, on the one side, how they looked big, when they compared their rich habits with the plain clothes of the Utopians, who were come out in great numbers to see them make their entry: and on the other, to observe how much they were mistaken in the impression,

impression, which they hoped this pomp would have made on them. It appeared so ridiculous a shew to all that had never stirred out of their country, and had not seen the customs of other nations; that though they paid some reverence to, those that were the most meanly clad, as if they had been the ambassadors, yet when they saw the ambassadors themselves, so full of gold and chains, they looked upon them as slaves, and forbore to treat them with reverence. You might have seen the children, who were grown big enough to despise their play-things, and who had thrown away their jewels, call to their mothers, push them gently, and cry out, "See that great fool that wears pearls and gems, as if he were yet a child." While their mothers very innocently replied, "Hold your peace, this I believe is one of the ambassador's fools." Others censured the fashion of their chains, and observed that they were of no use; for they were too slight to bind their slaves, who could easily break them; and besides hung so loose about them, that they thought it easy to throw them away, and so get from them. But after the ambassadors had staid a day among them, and saw so vast a quantity of gold in their houses, which was as much despised by them, as it was esteemed in other nations, and beheld more gold and silver in the chains and fetters of one slave, than all their ornaments amounted to, their plumes fell, and they were ashamed of all that glory for which they had formerly valued themselves, and accordingly laid it aside: a resolution that they immediately took, when on their engaging in
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some free discourse with the Utopians, they discovered their sense of such things, and their other customs. The Utopians wonder how any man should be so much taken with the glaring doubtful lustre of a jewel or a stone, that can look up to a star, or to the sun himself; or how any should value himself, because his cloth is made of a finer thread: for how fine soever that thread may be, it was once no better than the fleece of a sheep, and that sheep was a sheep still for all its wearing it. They wonder much to hear, that gold which in itself is so useless a thing, should be every where so much esteemed, that even men for whom it was made, and by whom it has its value, should yet be thought of less value than this metal: that a man of lead, who has no more sense than a log of wood, and is as bad as he is foolish, should have many wise and good men to serve him, only because he has a great heap of that metal; and that if it should happen, that by some accident, or trick of law, (which sometimes produces as great changes as chance itself) all this wealth should pass from the master to the meanest varlet of his whole family, he himself would very soon become one of his servants, as if he were a thing that belonged to his wealth, and so were bound to follow its fortune. But they much more admire and detest the folly of those who when they see a rich man, though they neither owe him any thing, nor are in any sort dependant on his bounty, yet merely because he is rich, give him little less than divine honours; even though they know him to be so covetous and base minded, that notwithstanding all his wealth,
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he will not part with one farthing of it to them, as long as he lives.

These and such like notions has that people imbibed, partly from their education, being bred in a country, whose customs and laws are opposite to all such foolish maxims: and partly from their learning and studies: for though there are but few in any town that are so wholly excused from labour, as to give themselves entirely up to their studies, these being only such persons as discover from their childhood an extraordinary capacity and disposition for letters; yet their children, and a great part of the nation, both men and women, are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work, in reading: and this they do through the whole progress of life. They have all their learning in their own tongue; which is both a copious and pleasant language, and in which a man can fully express his mind: It runs over a great tract of many countries, but it is not equally pure in all places: they had never so much as heard of the names of any of those philosophers that are so famous in these parts of the world, before we went among them: and yet they had made the same discoveries as the Greeks, both in music, logic, arithmetic, and geometry. But as they are almost in every thing equal to the ancient philosophers, so they far exceed our modern logicians; for they have never yet fallen upon the barbarous niceties that our youth are forced to learn in those trifling logical schools that are among us: they are so far from minding chimeras, and fantastical images made in the mind, that none of them could
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comprehend what we meant, when we talked to them of a man in the abstract, as common to all men in particular, (so that though we spoke of him as a thing that we could point at with our fingers, yet none of them could perceive him) and yet distinct from every one, as if he were some monstrous colossus, or giant. Yet for all this ignorance of these empty notions, they knew astronomy, and were perfectly acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies; and have many instruments, well contrived and divided, by which they very accurately compute the course and positions of the sun, moon and stars. But for the cheat, of divining by the stars, by their oppositions or conjunctions, it has not so much as entered into their thoughts. They have a particular sagacity, founded upon much observation, in judging of the weather, by which they know when they may look for rain, wind, or other alterations in the air: but as to the philosophy of these things; the causes of the saltness of the sea, of its ebbing and flowing, and of the original and nature both of the heavens and the earth; they dispute of them, partly as our ancient philosophers have done, and partly upon some new hypothesis, in which, as they differ from them, so they do not in all things agree among themselves

As to moral philosophy, they have the same disputes among them as we have here. They examine what are properly good, both for the body and the mind; and whether any outward thing can be called truly good, or if that term belong only to the endowments of the soul. They enquire likewise into the nature of virtue and pleasure; but their chief

chief dispute is, concerning the happiness of a man, and wherein it consists;—whether in some one thing, or in a great many. They seem indeed more inclinable to that opinion that places, if not the whole, yet the chief part of a man's happiness in pleasure; and, what may seem more strange, they make use of arguments even from religion, notwithstanding its severity and roughness, for the support of that opinion, so indulgent to pleasure: for they never dispute concerning happiness without fetching some arguments from the principles of religion, as well as from natural reason; since without the former they reckon that all our enquiries after happiness must be but conjectural and defective.

These are their religious principles; that the soul of man is immortal, and that God of his goodness has designed that it should be happy; and that he has therefore appointed rewards for good and virtuous actions, and punishments for vice, to be distributed after this life. Though these principles of religion are conveyed down among them by tradition, they think, that even reason itself determines a man to believe and acknowledge them: and freely confess, that if these were taken away, no man would be so insensible, as not to seek after pleasure by all possible means, lawful or unlawful; using only this caution, that a lesser pleasure might not stand in the way of a greater, and that no pleasure ought to be pursued, that should draw a great deal of pain after it: for they think it the maddest thing in the world to pursue virtue, that is a sour and difficult thing; and not only to renounce the pleasures of life, but willingly to undergo much pain and trouble,

trouble, if a man has no prospect of a reward. And what reward can there be, for one that has passed his whole life, not only without pleasure, but in pain, if there is nothing to be expected after death? Yet they do not place happiness in all sorts of pleasures, but only in those that in themselves are good and honest.

There is a party among them who place happiness in bare virtue; others, think that our natures are conducted by virtue to happiness, as that which is the chief good of man. They define virtue thus, that it is a living according to nature; and think that we are made by God for that end; they believe that a man then follows the dictates of nature, when he pursues or avoids things according to the direction of reason: they say, that the first dictate of reason is, the kindling in us a love and reverence for the Divine Majesty, to whom we owe both all that we have, and all that we can ever hope for. In the next place, reason directs us to keep our minds as free from passion, and as cheerful, as we can; and that we should consider ourselves as bound by the ties of good-nature and humanity, to use our utmost endeavors to help forward the happiness of all other persons; for there never was any man such a morose and severe pursuer of virtue, such an enemy to pleasure, that, though he set hard rules for men to undergo, much pain, many watchings, and other rigors, yet did not at the same time advise them to do all they could in order to relieve and ease the miserable, and who did not represent gentleness and good-nature as amiable dispositions. And from thence they infer, that if a man ought to advance the welfare and comfort of the rest
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of mankind, there being no virtue more proper and peculiar to our nature, than to ease the miseries of others, to free from trouble and anxiety, in furnishing them with the comforts of life, in which pleasure consists, nature much more vigorously leads him to do all this for himself. A life of pleasure is either a real evil (and in that case we ought not to assist others in their pursuit of it, but, on the contrary, to keep them from it all we can, as from that which is most hurtful and deadly), or if it is a good thing, so that we not only may, but ought, to help others to it, why then ought not a man to begin with himself; since no man can be more bound to look after the good of another than after his own; for nature cannot direct us to be good and kind to others, and yet at the same time to be unmerciful and cruel to ourselves? Thus, as they define virtue to be living according to nature, so they imagine that nature prompts all people on to seek after pleasure, as the end of all they do. They also observe, that in order to our supporting the pleasures of life, nature inclines us to enter into society; for there is no man so much raised above the rest of mankind as to be the only favorite of nature, who, on the contrary, seems to have placed on a level all those that belong to the same species. Upon this they infer, that no man ought to seek his own conveniences so eagerly as to prejudice others; and therefore they think, that not only all agreements between private persons ought to be observed, but likewise, that all those laws ought to be kept, which either a good prince has published in due form, or to which a people, that is neither oppressed with tyranny, nor circumvented by fraud, has

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consented, for distributing those conveniencies of life which afford us all our pleasures.

They think it is an evidence of true wisdom, for a man to pursue his own advantages, as far as the laws allow it. They account it piety, to prefer the public good to one's private concerns; but they think it unjust, for a man to seek for pleasure, by snatching another man's pleasures from him. And on the contrary, they think it a sign of a gentle and good soul, for a man to dispense with his own advantage for the good of others; and that by this means, a good man finds as much pleasure one way, as he parts with another; for as he may expect the like from others when he may come to need it, so if that should fail him, yet the sense of a good action, and the reflections that he makes on the love and gratitude of those whom he has so obliged, gives the mind more pleasure, than the body could have found in that from which it had restrained itself: they are also persuaded that God will make up the loss of those small pleasures, with a vast and endless joy, of which religion easily convinces a good soul.

Thus upon an enquiry into the whole matter, they reckon that all our actions, and even all our virtues terminate in pleasure, as in our chief end and greatest happiness; and they call every motion or state, either of body or mind, in which nature teaches us to delight, a pleasure. Thus they cautiously limit pleasure, only to those appetites to which nature leads us; for they say that nature leads us only to those delights to which

reason as well as sense carries us, and by which we neither injure any other person, nor lose the possession of greater pleasures, and of such as draw no troubles after them; but they look upon those delights which men by a foolish, though common, mistake, call pleasure, as if they could change as easily the nature of things, as the use of words, as things that greatly obstruct their real happiness, instead of advancing it, because they so entirely possess the minds of those that are once captivated by them, with a false notion of pleasure, that there is no room left for pleasures of a truer or purer kind.

There are many things that in themselves have nothing that is truly delightful: on the contrary, they have a good deal of bitterness in them: and yet from our perverse appetites after forbidden objects, are not only ranked among the pleasures, but are made even the greatest designs of life. Among those who pursue these sophisticated pleasures, they reckon such as I mentioned before, who think themselves really the better for having fine clothes; in which they think they are doubly mistaken, both in the opinion that they have of their clothes, and in that they have of themselves; for if you consider the use of clothes, why should a fine thread be thought better than a coarse one? And yet these men, as if they had some real advantages beyond others, and did not owe them wholly to their mistakes, look big, seem to fancy themselves to be more valuable, and imagine that a respect is due to them for the sake of a rich garment, to which they would not have

have pretended, if they had been more meanly clothed; and even resent it as an affront, if that respect is not paid them. It is also a great folly to be taken with outward marks of respect, which signify nothing: for what true or real pleasure can one man find in another's standing bare, or making legs to him? Will the bending another man's knees give ease to yours? And will the head's being bare cure the madness of yours? And yet it is wonderful to see how this false notion of pleasure bewitches many, who delight themselves with the fancy of their nobility, and are pleased with this conceit, that they are descended from ancestors, who have been held for some successions rich, and who have had great possessions; for this is all that makes nobility at present: yet they do not think themselves a whit the less noble, though their immediate parents have left none of this wealth to them; or though they themselves have squandered it away. The Utopians have no better opinion of those, who are much taken with gems and precious stones, and who account it a degree of happiness, next to a divine one, if they can purchase one that is very extraordinary; especially if it be of that sort of stones, that is then in greatest request; for the same sort is not at all times universally of the same value; nor will men buy it, unless it be dismounted and taken out of the gold; the jeweller is then made to give good security, and required solemnly to swear that the stone is true, that by such an exact caution, a false one might not be bought instead of a true: though if you were to examine it, your eye could find no dif-

ference between the counterfeit, and that which is true; so that they are all one to you as much as if you were blind. Or can it be thought that they who heap up an useless mass of wealth, not for any use that it is to bring them, but merely to please themselves with the contemplation of it, enjoy any true pleasure in it? The delight they find, is only a false shadow of joy: those are no better, whose error is somewhat different from the former, and who hide it, out of their fear of losing it; for what other name can fit the hiding it in the earth, or rather the restoring it to it again, it being thus cut off from being useful, either to its owner, or to the rest of mankind? And yet the owner having hid it carefully, is glad, because he thinks he is now sure of it. If it should be stole, the owner, though he might live perhaps ten years after the theft, of which he knew nothing, would find no difference between his having, or losing it; for both ways it was equally useless to him.

Among those foolish pursuers of pleasure, they reckon all that delight in hunting, in fowling, or gaming: of whose madness they have only heard, for they have no such things among them: but they have asked us, what sort of pleasure is it that men can find in throwing the dice? For if there were any pleasure in it, they think the doing it so often should give one a surfeit of it: and what pleasure can one find in hearing the barking and howling of dogs, which seem rather odious than pleasant sounds? Nor can they comprehend the pleasure of seeing dogs run after a hare, more than of seeing one dog run after another; for if the seeing them run is that which gives

the pleasure, you have the same entertainment to the eye on both these occasions; since that is the same in both cases: but if the pleasure lies in seeing the hare killed and torn by the dogs, this ought rather to stir pity, that a weak, harmless and fearful hare, should be devoured by strong, fierce, and cruel dogs. Therefore all this business of hunting, is, among the Utopians, turned over to their butchers; and those, as has been already said, are all slaves: and they look on hunting, as one of the basest parts of a butcher's work: for they account it both more profitable, and more decent to kill those beasts that are more necessary and useful to mankind; whereas the killing and tearing of so small and miserable an animal, can only attract the huntsman with a false show of pleasure, from which he can reap but small advantage. They look on the desire of the bloodshed, even of beasts, as a mark of a mind that is already corrupted with cruelty, or that at least by the frequent returns of so brutal a pleasure, must degenerate into it.

Thus, though the rabble of mankind look upon these, and on innumerable other things of the same nature, as pleasures; the Utopians on the contrary observing, that there is nothing in them truly pleasant, conclude, that they are not to be reckoned among pleasures: for though these things may create some tickling in the senses, (which seems to be a true notion of pleasure) yet they imagine that this does not arise from the thing itself, but from a depraved custom, which may so vitiate a man's taste, that bitter things may pass for sweet; as women with child think pitch or tallow taste sweeter

than honey ; but as a man's sense when corrupted, either by a disease, or some ill habit, does not change the nature of other things, so neither can it change the nature of pleasure.

They reckon up several sorts of pleasures, which they call true ones : some belong to the body, and others to the mind. The pleasures of the mind lie in knowledge, and in that delight which the contemplation of truth carries with it ; to which they add the joyful reflections on a well-spent life, and the assured hopes of a future happiness. They divide the pleasures of the body into two sorts ; the one is that which gives our senses some real delight, and is performed, either by recruiting nature, and supplying those parts which feed the internal heat of life by eating and drinking : or when nature is eased of any surcharge that oppresses it ; when we are relieved from sudden pain, or that which arises from satisfying the appetite which nature has wisely given to lead us to the propagation of the species. There is another kind of pleasure that arises neither from our receiving what the body requires, nor its being relieved when overcharged, and yet by a secret, unseen virtue affects the senses, raises the passions, and strikes the mind with generous impressions ; this is the pleasure that arises from music. Another kind of bodily pleasure is that, which results from an undisturbed and vigorous constitution of body, when life and active spirits seem to actuate every part. This lively health, when entirely free from all mixture of pain, of itself gives

gives an inward pleasure, independent of all external objects of delight ; and though this pleasure does not so powerfully affect us, nor act so strongly on the senses as some of the others, yet it may be esteemed as the greatest of all pleasures, and almost all the Utopians reckon it the foundation and basis of all the other joys of life ; since this alone makes the state of life easy and desirable ; and when this is wanting, a man is really capable of no other pleasure. They look upon freedom from pain, if it does not rise from perfect health, to be a state of stupidity, rather than of pleasure. This subject has been very narrowly canvassed among them ; and it has been debated whether a firm and entire health could be called a pleasure, or not ? Some have thought that there was no pleasure, but what was excited by some sensible motion in the body. But this opinion has been long ago excluded from among them, so that now they almost universally agree, That health is the greatest of all bodily pleasures ; and that as there is a pain in sickness, which is as opposite in its nature to pleasure, as sickness itself is to health ; so they hold, that health is accompanied with pleasure : and if any should say, that sickness is not really pain, but that it only carries pain along with it, they look upon that as a fetch of subtilty, that does not much alter the matter. It is all one in their opinion, whether it be said, that health is in itself a pleasure, or that it begets a pleasure, as fire gives heat ; so it be granted, that all those whose health is entire, have a true pleasure in the enjoyment of it : and they reason thus, What is the pleasure

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sure of eating, but that a man's health which had been weakened, does, with the assistance of food, drive away hunger, and so recruiting itself, recovers its former vigour? And being thus refreshed, it finds a pleasure in that conflict: and if the conflict is pleasure, the victory must yet breed a greater pleasure, except we fancy that it becomes stupid as soon as it has obtained that which it pursued, and so neither knows nor rejoices in its own welfare. If it is said, that health cannot be felt, they absolutely deny it; for what man is in health, that does not perceive it when he is awake? Is there any man that is so dull and stupid, as not to acknowledge that he feels a delight in health? And what is delight, but another name for pleasure?

But of all pleasures, they esteem those to be most valuable that lie in the mind; the chief of which arise out of true virtue, and the witness of a good conscience. They account health the chief pleasure that belongs to the body; for they think that the pleasure of eating and drinking, and all the other delights of sense, are only so far desirable, as they give or maintain health: but they are not pleasant in themselves, otherwise than as they resist those impressions that our natural infirmities are still making upon us: for as a wise man desires rather to avoid diseases, than to take physic; and to be free from pain, rather than to find ease by remedies; so it is more desirable, not to need this sort of pleasure, than to be obliged to indulge it. If any man imagines that there is a real happiness in these enjoyments, he must then confess that he would be the happiest of all men,

men, if he were to lead his life in perpetual hunger, thirst, and itching, and by consequence in perpetual eating, drinking, and scratching himself; which any one may easily see would be not only a base but a miserable state of a life. These are indeed the lowest of pleasures, and the least pure: for we can never relish them, but when they are mixed with the contrary pains. The pain of hunger must give us the pleasure of eating; and here the pain out-balances the pleasure: and as the pain is more vehement, so it lasts much longer; for as it begins before the pleasure, so it does not cease, but with the pleasure that extinguishes it, and both expire together: they think, therefore, none of those pleasures are to be valued, any further than as they are necessary; yet they rejoice in them, and with due gratitude acknowledge the tenderness of the great Author of nature, who has planted in us appetites, by which those things that are necessary for our preservation, are likewise made pleasant to us. For how miserable a thing would life be, if those daily diseases of hunger and thirst, were to be carried off by such bitter drugs, as we must use for those diseases that return seldomer upon us? And thus these pleasant as well as proper gifts of nature, maintain the strength and the sprightliness of our bodies.

They also entertain themselves with the other delights let in at their eyes, their ears, and their nostrils, as the pleasant relishes and seasonings of life, which nature seems to have marked out peculiarly for man: since no other sort of animals contemplates the figure and beauty of the universe; nor is delighted with smells, any farther than

as they distinguish meats by them; nor do they apprehend the concords or discords of sound; yet in all pleasures whatsoever, they take care that a lesser joy does not hinder a greater, and that pleasure may never breed pain, which they think always follows dishonest pleasures. But they think it madness for a man to wear out the beauty of his face, or the force of his natural strength; to corrupt the sprightliness of his body by sloth and laziness, or to waste it by fasting; that it is madness to weaken the strength of his constitution, and reject the other delights of life; unless by renouncing his own satisfaction, he can either serve the public, or promote the happiness of others, for which he expects a greater recompence from God. So that they look on such a course of life, as the mark of a mind that is both cruel to itself, and ungrateful to the Author of nature, as if we would not be beholden to him for his favours, and therefore reject all his blessings; as one who should afflict himself for the empty shadow of virtue; or for no better end, than to render himself capable of bearing these misfortunes which possibly will never happen.

This is their notion of virtue and of pleasure; they think that no man's reason can carry him to a truer idea of them, unless some discovery from heaven should inspire him with sublimer notions. I have not now the leisure to examine, whether they think right or wrong in this matter: nor do I judge it necessary, for I have only undertaken to give you an account of their constitution, but not to defend all their principles. I am sure, that whatsoever may be said of their notions, there is not in
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the whole world, either a better people or a happier government: their bodies are vigorous and lively; and though they are but of a middle stature, and have neither the fruitfullest soil, nor the purest air in the world; yet they fortify themselves so well by their temperate course of life, against the unhealthiness of their air, and by their industry they so cultivate their soil, that there is nowhere to be seen a greater increase, both of corn and cattle, nor are there any where healthier men, and freer from diseases: for one may there see reduced to practice, not only all the art that the husbandman employs in manuring and improving an ill soil, but whole woods plucked up by the roots, and in other places new ones planted, where there were none before. Their principal motive for this, is the convenience of carriage, that their timber may be either near their towns, or growing on the banks of the sea, or of some rivers, so as to be floated to them; for it is a harder work to carry wood at any distance over land, than corn. The people are industrious, apt to learn, as well as cheerful and pleasant; and none can endure more labour, when it is necessary; but except in that case they love their ease. They are unwearied pursuers of knowledge; for when we had given them some hints of the learning and discipline of the Greeks, concerning whom we only instructed them, (for we know that there was nothing among the Romans, except their historians and their poets, that they would value much) it was strange to see how eagerly they were set on learning that language: we began to read a little of it to them, rather in compliance with their importunity,

portunity, than out of any hopes of their reaping from it any great advantage : but after a very short trial, we found they made such progress, that we saw our labour was like to be more successful than we could have expected. They learned to write their characters, and to pronounce their language so exactly, had so quick an apprehension, they remembered it so faithfully, and became so ready and correct in the use of it, that it would have looked like a miracle, if the greater part of those whom we taught had not been men both of extraordinary capacity, and of a fit age for instruction : they were for the greatest part chosen from among their learned men, by their chief counsel, though some studied it of their own accord. In three years time they became masters of the whole language, so that they read the best of the Greek authors very exactly. I am indeed apt to think, that they learned that language the more easily, from its having some relation to their own : I believe that they were a colony of the Greeks ; for though their language comes nearer the Persian, yet they retain many names, both for their towns and magistrates, that are of Greek derivation. I happened to carry a great many books with me, instead of merchandise, when I sailed my fourth voyage ; for I was so far from thinking of soon coming back, that I rather thought never to have returned at all, and I gave them all my books, among which were many of Plato's and some of Aristotle's works. I had also Theophrastus on plants, which to my great regret, was imperfect : for having laid it carelessly by while we were at sea, a monkey had seized upon

upon it and in many places torn out the leaves. They have no books of grammar, but Lascars, for I did not carry Theodorus with me; nor have they any dictionaries but Hesichius and Dioscorides. They esteem Plutarch highly, and were much taken with Lucian's wit, and with his pleasant way of writing. As for the poets, they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles of Aldus's edition; and for historians, Thucydides, Herodotus and Herodian. One of my companions, Thricius Apinatus, happened to carry with him some of Hippocrates's works, and Galen's Microtechnæ, which they hold in great estimation; for though there is no nation in the world that needs physic so little as they do, yet there is not any that honours it so much: they reckon the knowledge of it one of the pleasantest and most profitable parts of philosophy, by which, as they search into the secrets of nature, so they not only find this study highly agreeable, but think that such enquiries are very acceptable to the Author of nature; and imagine, that as he, like the inventors of curious engines amongst mankind, has exposed this great machine of the universe, to the view of the only creatures capable of contemplating it, so an exact and curious observer, who admires his workmanship, is much more acceptable to him than one of the herd, who like a beast incapable of reason, looks on this glorious scene with the eyes of a dull and unconcerned spectator.

The minds of the Utopians, when fenced with a love for learning, are very ingenious in discovering all such arts as are necessary to carry it to perfection. Two things they

they owe to us, the manufacture of paper, and the art of printing : yet they are not so entirely indebted to us for these discoveries, but that a greater part of the invention was their own. We shewed them some books printed by Aldus, we explained to them the way of making paper, and the mystery of printing ; but as we had never practised these arts, we described them in a crude and superficial manner. They seized the hints we gave them, and though at first they could not arrive at perfection, yet by making many essays, they at last found out, and corrected all their errors, and conquered every difficulty. Before this they only wrote on parchment, on reeds, or on the barks of trees ; but now they have established the manufactures of paper, and set up printing-presses, so that if they had but a good number of Greek authors, they would be quickly supplied with many copies of them : at present, though they have no more than those I have mentioned, yet by several impressions, they have multiplied them into many thousands. If any man was to go among them, that had some extraordinary talent, or that by much travelling had observed the customs of many nations, (which made us to be so well received) he would receive a hearty welcome ; for they are very desirous to know the state of the whole world. Very few go among them on the account of traffic, for what can a man carry to them but iron, or gold, or silver, which merchants desire rather to export, than import to a strange country : and as for their exportation, they think it better to manage that themselves, than to leave it to foreigners, for by this means, as they understand

stand the state of the neighbouring countries better, so they keep up the art of navigation, which cannot be maintained but by much practice.

OF THEIR SLAVES,

AND OF THEIR

MARRIAGES.

THEY do not make slaves of prisoners of war, except those that are taken in battle; nor of the sons of their slaves, nor of those of other nations: the slaves among them, are only such as are condemned to that state of life for the commission of some crime, or which is more common, such as their merchants find condemned to die in those parts to which they trade, whom they sometimes redeem at low rates; and in other places have them for nothing. They are kept at perpetual labour, and are always chained, but with this difference, that their own natives are treated much worse than others; they are considered as more profligate than the rest, and since they could not be restrained by the advantages of so excellent an education, are judged worthy of harder usage. Another sort of slaves, are the poor of the neighbouring countries, who offer of their own accord to come and serve them; they treat these better, and use them in all other respects, as well as their own countrymen, except their

their imposing more labour upon them, which is no hard task to those that have been accustomed to it; and if any of these have a mind to go back to their own country, which indeed falls out but seldom, as they do not force them to stay, so they do not send them away empty handed.

I have already told you with what care they look after their sick, so that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their ease or health: and for those who are taken with fixed and incurable diseases, they use all possible ways to cherish them, and to make their lives as comfortable as possible: they visit them often, and take great pains to make their time pass off easily: but when any is taken with a torturing and lingering pain, so that there is no hope, either of recovery or ease, the priests and magistrates come and exhort them, that since they are now unable to go on with the business of life, are become a burden to themselves, and to all about them, and they have really outlived themselves, they should no longer nourish such a rooted distemper, but choose rather to die, since they cannot live, but in much misery; being assured, that if they thus deliver themselves from torture, or are willing that others should do it, they shall be happy after death. Since by their acting thus, they lose none of the pleasures, but only the troubles of life; they think they behave not only reasonably, but in a manner consistent with religion and piety; because they follow the advice given them by their priests, who are the expounders of the will of God. Such as are wrought on by these persuasions, either starve themselves

themselves of their own accord, or take opium, and by that means die without pain. But no man is forced on this way of ending his life; and if they cannot be persuaded to it, this does not induce them to fail in their attendance and care of them: but as they believe that a voluntary death, when it is chosen upon such an authority, is very honourable; so if any man takes away his own life, without the approbation of the priests and the senate, they give him none of the honours of a decent funeral, but throw his body into a ditch.

Their women are not married before eighteen, nor their men before two and twenty; and if any of them run into forbidden embraces before marriage, they are severely punished, and the privilege of marriage is denied them, unless they can obtain a special warrant from the prince. Such disorders cast a great reproach upon the master and mistress of the family in which they happen; for it is supposed, that they have failed in their duty. The reason of punishing this so severely, is, because they think that if they were not strictly restrained from all vagrant appetites, very few would engage in a state in which they venture the quiet of their whole lives, by being confined to one person, and are obliged to endure all the inconveniences with which it is accompanied. In choosing their wives, they use a method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous, but it is constantly observed among them, and is accounted perfectly consistent with wisdom. Before marriage, some grave matron presents the bride naked, whether she is a virgin or a widow, to the bridegroom; and after that, some

grave man presents the bridegroom naked to the bride. We indeed both laughed at this, and condemned it as very indecent. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of the men of all other nations; who if they are but to buy a horse of a small value, are so cautious, that they will see every part of him, and take off both his saddle, and all his other tackle, that there may be no secret ulcer hid under any of them; and that yet in the choice of a wife, on which depends the happiness or unhappiness of the rest of his life, a man should venture upon trust, and only see about an hands-breadth of the face, all the rest of the body being covered; under which there may lie hid what may be contagious, as well as loathsome. All men are not so wise, as to choose a woman only for her good qualities; and even wise men consider the body, as that which adds not a little to the mind: and it is certain, there may be some such deformity covered with the clothes, as may totally alienate a man from his wife, when it is too late to part with her: if such a thing is discovered after marriage, a man has no remedy but patience: they therefore think it is reasonable, that there should be good provision made against such mischievous frauds.

There was so much the more reason for them to make a regulation in this matter, because they are the only people of those parts that neither allow of polygamy, nor of divorces, except in the case of adultery, or insufferable perverseness: for in these cases the senate dissolves the marriage, and grants the injured person leave to marry again; but the guilty are made infamous, and are
never

never allowed the privilege of a second marriage. None are suffered to put away their wives against their wills, from any great calamity that may have fallen on their persons, for they look on it as the height of cruelty and treachery to abandon either of the married persons, when they need most the tender care of their consort; and that chiefly in the case of old age, which as it carries many diseases along with it, so it is a disease of itself. But it frequently falls out, that when a married couple do not well agree, they by mutual consent separate, and find out other persons with whom they hope they may live more happily: yet this is not done, without obtaining leave of the senate; which never admits of a divorce, but upon a strict enquiry made, both by the senators and their wives, into the grounds upon which it is desired; and even when they are satisfied concerning the reasons of it, they go on but slowly, for they imagine that too great easiness, in granting leave for new marriages, would very much shake the kindness of married people. They punish severely those that defile the marriage-bed: If both parties are married, they are divorced, and the injured persons may marry one another, or whom they please; but the adulterer and the adulterers are condemned to slavery. Yet if either of the injured persons cannot shake off the love of the married person, they may live with them still in that state; but they must follow them to that labour to which the slaves are condemned; and sometimes the repentance of the condemned, together with the unshaken kindness of the innocent and injured person, has prevailed so far with the

prince, that he has taken off the sentence : but those that relapse, after they are once pardoned, are punished with death.

Their law does not determine the punishment for other crimes ; but that is left to the senate, to temper it according to the circumstances of the fact. Husbands have power to correct their wives, and parents to chastise their children, unless the fault is so great, that a public punishment is thought necessary for striking terror into others. For the most part, slavery is the punishment even of the greatest crimes ; for as that is no less terrible to the criminals themselves than death, so they think the preserving them in a state of servitude, is more for the interest of the common-wealth, than killing them : since as their labour is a greater benefit to the public, than their death could be ; so the sight of their misery is a more lasting terror to other men, than that which would be given by their death. If their slaves rebel, and will not bear their yoke, and submit to the labour that is enjoined them, they are treated as wild beasts that cannot be kept in order, neither by a prison, nor by their chains ; and are at last put to death. But those who bear their punishment patiently, and are so much wrought on by that pressure, that lies so hard on them, that it appears they are really more troubled for the crimes they have committed, than for the miseries they suffer, are not out of hope, but that at last either the prince will, by his prerogative, or the people, by their intercession, restore them again to their liberty, or
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at least very much mitigate their slavery. He that tempts a married woman to adultery, is no less severely punished, than he that commits it; for they believe that a deliberate design to commit a crime, is equal to the fact itself; since its not taking effect does not make the person that miscarried in his attempt at all the less guilty.

They take great pleasure in fools, and as it is thought a base and unbecoming thing to use them ill, so they do not think it amiss for people to divert themselves with their folly: and, in their opinion, this is a great advantage to the fools themselves: for if men were so fullen and severe, as not at all to please themselves with their ridiculous behaviour, and foolish sayings, which is all that they can do to recommend themselves to others, it could not be expected that they would be so well provided for, nor so tenderly used as they must otherwise be. If any man should reproach another for his being misshaped or imperfect in any part of his body, it would not at all be thought a reflection on the person so treated, but it would be accounted scandalous in him that had upbraided another with that he could not help. It is thought a sign of a sluggish and sordid mind, not to preserve carefully one's natural beauty; but it is likewise infamous among them to use paint. They all see that no beauty recommends a wife so much to her husband, as the probity of her life, and her obedience: for as some few are catched and held only by beauty, so all are attracted by the other excellencies which charm all the world.

As they fright men from committing crimes by punishments, so they invite them to the love of virtue, by public honours : therefore they erect statues to the memories of such worthy men as have deserved well of their country, and set these in their market-places, both to perpetuate the remembrance of their actions, and to be an incitement to their posterity to follow their example.

If any man aspires to any office, he is sure never to compass it : they all live easily together, for none of the magistrates are either insolent or cruel to the people : they affect rather to be called fathers, and by being really so, they well deserve the name ; and the people pay them all the marks of honour the more freely, because none are exacted from them. The prince himself has no distinction, either of garments, or of a crown ; but is only distinguished by a sheaf of corn carried before him ; as the high priest is also known by his being preceded by a person carrying a wax light.

They have but few laws, and such is their constitution, that they need not many. They very much condemn other nations, whose laws, together with the commentaries on them, swell up to so many volumes ; for they think it an unreasonable thing to oblige men to obey a body of laws, that are both of such a bulk, and so dark as not to be read and understood by every one of the subjects.

They have no lawyers among them, for they consider them as a sort of people, whose profession it is to disguise matters and to wrest the laws ; and therefore they think it is much better that every man should plead his
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own cause, and trust it to the judge, as in other places the client trusts it to a counsellor. By this means they both cut off many delays, and find out truth more certainly : for after the parties have laid open the merits of the cause, without those artifices which lawyers are apt to suggest, the judge examines the whole matter, and supports the simplicity of such well-meaning persons, whom otherwise crafty men would be sure to run down : and thus they avoid those evils, which appear very remarkably among all those nations that labour under a vast load of laws. Every one of them is skilled in their law, for as it is a very short study, so the plainest meaning of which words are capable, is always the sense of their laws. And they argue thus ; all laws are promulgated for this end, that every man may know his duty ; and therefore the plainest and most obvious sense of the words, is that which ought to be put upon them ; since a more refined exposition cannot be easily comprehended, and would only serve to make the laws become useless to the greater part of mankind, and especially to those who need most the direction of them : for it is all one, not to make a law at all, or to couch it in such terms, that without a quick apprehension, and much study, a man cannot find out the true meaning of it ; since the generality of mankind are both so dull, and so much employed in their several trades, that they have neither the leisure nor the capacity requisite for such an enquiry.

Some of their neighbours, who are masters of their own liberties, having long ago, by the assistance of the Utopians, shaken off the yoke of tyranny ; and being much

taken with those virtues which they observe among them, have come to desire that they would send magistrates to govern them; some changing them every year, and others every five years. At the end of their government, they bring them back to Utopia, with great expressions of honour and esteem, and carry away others to govern in their stead. In this they seem to have fallen upon a very good expedient for their own happiness and safety; for since the good or ill condition of a nation depends so much upon their magistrates, they could not have made a better choice, than by pitching on men whom no advantages can bias; for wealth is of no use to them, since they must so soon go back to their own country; and they being strangers among them, are not engaged in any of their heats or animosities: and it is certain, that when public judicatories are swayed, either by avarice or partial affections, there must follow a dissolution of justice, the chief finew of society.

The Utopians call those nations that come and ask magistrates from them, neighbours; but those to whom they have been of more particular service, friends. And as all other nations are perpetually either making leagues or breaking them, they never enter into an alliance with any state. They think leagues are useless things, and believe, that if the common ties of humanity do not knit men together, the faith of promises will have no great effect: and they are the more confirmed in this, by what they see among the nations round about them, who are no strict observers of leagues and treaties. We know how religiously they are observed in Europe;
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more particularly where the Christian doctrine is received, among whom they are sacred and inviolable. Which is partly owing to the justice and goodness of the princes themselves, and partly to the reverence they pay to the popes: who as they are most religious observers of their own promises, so they exhort all other princes to perform theirs; and when fainter methods do not prevail, they compel them to it by the severity of the pastoral censure; and think that it would be the most indecent thing possible, if men who are particularly distinguished by the title of the faithful, should not religiously keep the faith of their treaties. But in that new-found world, which is not more distant from us in situation, than the people are in their manners and course of life, there is no trusting to leagues, even though they were made with all the pomp of the most sacred ceremonies: on the contrary, they are on this account the sooner broken, some slight pretence being found in the words of the treaties, which are purposely couched in such ambiguous terms, that they can never be so strictly bound, but they will always find some loop-hole to escape at; and thus they break both their leagues and their faith. And this is done with such impudence, that those very men who value themselves on having suggested these expedients to their princes, would with a haughty scorn, declaim against such craft, or to speak plainer, such fraud and deceit, if they found private men make use of it in their bargains; and would readily say, that they deserved to be hanged.

By this means it is, that all sort of justice, passes in the world, for a low-spirited and vulgar virtue, far below

low the dignity of royal greatness. Or at least, there are set up two sorts of justice: the one is mean, and creeps on the ground, and therefore becomes none but the lower part of mankind, and, so must be kept in severely by many restraints, that it may not break out beyond the bounds that are set to it. The other is the peculiar virtue of princes, which as it is more majestic than that which becomes the rabble, so takes a freer compass; and thus lawful and unlawful, are only measured by pleasure and interest. These practices of the princes that lie about Utopia, who make so little account of their faith, seem to be the reasons that determine them to engage in no confederacies: perhaps they would change their mind if they lived among us: but yet though treaties were more religiously observed, they would still dislike the custom of making them; since the world has taken up a false maxim upon it, as if there were no tie of nature uniting one nation to another, only separated perhaps by a mountain, or a river, and that all were born in a state of hostility, and so might lawfully do all that mischief to their neighbours, against which there is no provision made by treaties: and that when treaties are made, they do not cut off the enmity, or restrain the license of preying upon each other, if by the unskillfulness of wording them, there are not effectual proviso's made against them. They, on the other hand, judge, that no man is to be esteemed our enemy that has never injured us; and that the partnership of the human nature, is instead of a league. And that kindness and good nature unite men more effectually, and with greater strength

strength than any agreements whatsoever ; since thereby the engagements of men's hearts become stronger, than the bond and obligation of words.

OF THEIR

MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

THEY detest war as a very brutal thing ; and which, to the reproach of human nature, is more practised by men, than by any sort of beasts : they, in opposition to the sentiments of almost all other nations, think that there is nothing more inglorious than that glory that is gained by war : and therefore though they accustom themselves daily to military exercises, and the discipline of war, in which not only their men, but their women likewise, are trained up, that in cases of necessity, they may not be quite useless : yet they do not rashly engage in war, unless it be either to defend themselves, or their friends, from any unjust aggressors ; or out of good nature, or in compassion assist an oppressed nation, in shaking off the yoke of tyranny. They indeed help their friends, not only in defensive, but also in offensive wars : but they never do that, unless they had been consulted before the breach was made, and being satisfied with the grounds on which they went, they had found that all demands of reparation were rejected, so that a war was unavoid-

unavoidable. This they think to be not only just, when one neighbour makes an inroad on another, by public order, and carry away the spoils; but when the merchants of one country are oppressed in another, either under pretence of some unjust laws, or by the perverse wresting of good ones. This they count a juster cause of war than the other, because those injuries are done under some colour of laws. This was the only ground of that war in which they engaged with the Nephelogetes against the Aleopolitanes, a little before our time: for the merchants of the former having, as they thought, met with great injustice among the latter, which whether it was in itself right or wrong, drew on a terrible war, in which many of their neighbours were engaged; and their keenness in carrying it on, being supported by their strength in maintaining it; it not only shook some very flourishing states, and very much afflicted others, but after a series of much mischief, ended in the intire conquest and slavery of the Aleopolitanes, who though before the war, they were in all respects much superior to the Nephelogetes, were yet subdued: but though the Utopians had assisted them in the war, yet they pretended to no share of the spoil.

But though they so vigorously assist their friends in obtaining reparation for the injuries they have received in affairs of this nature, yet if any such frauds were committed against themselves, provided no violence was done to their persons, they would only, on their being refused satisfaction, forbear trading with such a people. This is not because they consider their neighbours more than their own citizens; but since their neighbours trade every one upon

upon his own stock, fraud is a more sensible injury to them than it is to the Utopians, among whom the public in such a case only suffers. As they expect nothing in return for the merchandizes they export, but that in which they so much abound, and is of little use to them, the loss does not much affect them; they think therefore it would be too severe to revenge a loss attended with so little inconvenience either to their lives, or their subsistence, with the death of many persons; but if any of their people is either killed or wounded wrongfully, whether it be done by public authority, or only by private men, as soon as they hear of it, they send ambassadors, and demand, that the guilty persons may be delivered up to them; and if that is denied, they declare war; but if it be complied with, the offenders are condemned either to death or slavery.

They would be both troubled and ashamed of a bloody victory over their enemies; and think it would be as foolish a purchase, as to buy the most valuable goods at too high a rate. And in no victory do they glory so much, as in that which is gained by dexterity and good conduct, without bloodshed. In such cases they appoint public triumphs, and erect trophies to the honour of those who have succeeded; for then do they reckon that a man acts suitably to his nature, when he conquers his enemy in such a way, as that no other creature but a man could be capable of, and that is, by the strength of his understanding. Bears, lions, boars, wolves, and dogs; and all other animals employ their bodily force one against another, in which as many of them are superior to men,
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both in strength and fierceness, so they are all subdued by his reason and understanding.

The only design of the Utopians in war, is to obtain that by force, which if it had been granted them in time, would have prevented the war; or if that cannot be done, to take so severe a revenge on those that have injured them, that they may be terrified from doing the like for the time to come. By these ends they measure all their designs, and manage them so, that it is visible that the appetite of fame or vain-glory, does not work so much on them, as a just care of their own security.

As soon as they declare war, they take care to have a great many schedules, that are sealed with their common seal, affixed in the most conspicuous places of their enemies country. This is carried secretly, and done in many places all at once. In these they promise great rewards to such as shall kill the prince, and lesser in proportion to such as shall kill any other persons, who are those on whom, next to the prince himself, they cast the chief balance of the war. And they double the sum to him, that instead of killing the person so marked out, shall take him alive, and put him in their hands. They offer not only indemnity, but rewards, to such of the persons themselves that are so marked, if they will act against their countrymen: by this means those that are named in their schedules, become not only distrustful of their fellow citizens, but are jealous of one another: and are much distracted by fear and danger: for it has often fallen out, that many of them, and even the prince himself,

himself, have been betrayed by those in whom they have trusted most: for the rewards that the Utopians offer, are so unmeasurably great, that there is no sort of crime to which men cannot be drawn by them. They consider the risque that those run, who undertake such services, and offer a recompence proportionate to the danger; not only a vast deal of gold, but great revenues in lands, that lie among other nations that are their friends, where they may go and enjoy them very securely; and they observe the promises they make of this kind most religiously. They very much approve of this way of corrupting their enemies, though it appears to others to be base and cruel; but they look on it as a wise course, to make an end of what would be otherwise a long war, without so much as hazarding one battle to decide it. They think it likewise an act of mercy and love to mankind, to prevent the great slaughter of those that must otherwise be killed in the progress of the war, both on their own side, and on that of their enemies, by the death of a few that are most guilty; and that in so doing, they are kind even to their enemies, and pity them no less than their own people, as knowing that the greater part of them do not engage in the war of their own accord, but are driven into it by the passions of their prince.

If this method does not succeed with them, then they sow seeds of contention among their enemies, and animate the prince's brother, or some of the nobility, to aspire to the crown. If they cannot disunite them by domestic broils, then they engage their neighbours against them, and make them set on foot some old pretensions, which

which are never wanting to princes, when they have occasion for them. These they plentifully supply with money, though but very sparingly with any auxiliary troops: for they are so tender of their own people, that they would not willingly exchange one of them, even with the prince of their enemies country.

But as they keep their gold and silver only for such an occasion, so when that offers itself, they easily part with it, since it would be no inconvenience to them, though they should reserve nothing of it to themselves. For besides the wealth that they have among them at home, they have a vast treasure abroad; many nations round about them, being deep in their debt: so that they hire soldiers from all places for carrying on their wars; but chiefly from the Zapolets, who live five hundred miles east of Utopia. They are a rude, wild, and fierce nation, who delight in the woods and rocks, among which they were born and bred up. They are hardened both against heat, cold, and labour, and know nothing of the delicacies of life. They do not apply themselves to agriculture, nor do they care either for their houses or their clothes. Cattle is all that they look after; and for the greatest part, they live either by hunting, or upon rapine; and are made, as it were, only for war. They watch all opportunities of engaging in it, and very readily embrace such as are offered them. Great numbers of them will frequently go out, and offer themselves for a very low pay, to serve any that will employ them: they know none of the arts of life, but those that lead to the taking it away; they serve those that hire them, both with
much

much courage and great fidelity ; but will not engage to serve for any determined time, and agree upon such terms, that the next day they may go over to the enemies of those whom they serve, if they offer them a greater encouragement : and will perhaps return to them the day after that, upon a higher advance of their pay. There are few wars in which they make not a considerable part of the armies of both sides : so it often falls out, that they who are related, and were hired in the same country, and so have lived long and familiarly together, forgetting both their relations and former friendship, kill one another upon no other consideration, than that of being hired to it for a little money, by princes of different interests : and such a regard have they for money, that they are easily wrought on by the difference of one penny a day, to change sides. So entirely does their avarice influence them ; and yet this money which they value so highly, is of little use to them ; for what they purchase thus with their blood, they quickly waste on luxury, which among them is but of a poor and miserable form.

This nation serves the Utopians against all people whatsoever, for they pay higher than any other. The Utopians hold this for a maxim, that as they seek out the best sort of men for their own use at home, so they make use of this worst sort of men for the consumption of war, and therefore they hire them with the offers of vast rewards, to expose themselves to all sorts of hazards, out of which the greater part never returns to claim their promises. Yet they make them good most religiously to such as escape. This animates them to adventure again, whenever

there is occasion for it ; for the Utopians are not all troubled how many of these happen to be killed ; and reckon it a service done to mankind, if they could be a means to deliver the world from such a lewd and vicious sort of people, that seem to have run together, as to the drain of human nature. Next to these they are served in their wars, with those upon whose account they undertake them, and with the auxiliary troops of their other friends, to whom they join a few of their own people, and send some man of eminent and approved virtue to command in chief. There are two sent with him, who during his command, are but private men, but the first is to succeed him if he should happen to be either killed or taken ; and in case of the like misfortune to him, the third comes in his place ; and thus they provide against ill events, that such accidents as may befall their Generals, may not endanger their armies.

When they draw out troops of their own people, they take such out of every city as freely offer themselves, for none are forced to go against their wills, since they think that if any man is pressed that wants courage, he will not only act faintly, but by his cowardice dishearten others. But if an invasion is made on their country, they make use of such men, if they have good bodies, though they are not brave ; and either put them aboard their ships, or place them on the walls of their towns, that being so posted, they may find no opportunity of flying away ; and thus either shame, the heat of action, or the impossibility of flying, bears down their cowardice ; they often make a virtue of necessity, and behave themselves well, because
nothing

nothing else is left them. But as they force no man to go into any foreign war against his will, so they do not hinder those women who are willing to go along with their husbands: on the contrary, they encourage and praise them; and they stand often next their husbands in the front of the army. They also place together those who are related, parents and children, kindred, and those that are mutually allied, near one another; that those whom nature has inspired with the greatest zeal for assisting one another, may be the nearest and readiest to do it; and it is matter of great reproach, if husband or wife survive one another, or if a child survives his parent, and therefore when they come to be engaged in action, they continue to fight to the last man, if their enemies stand before them: and as they use all prudent methods to avoid the endangering their own men, and if it is possible, let all the action and danger fall upon the troops that they hire, so if it becomes necessary for themselves to engage, they then charge with as much courage, as they avoided it before with prudence. Nor is it a fierce charge at first, but it increases by degrees; and as they continue in action, they grow more obstinate, and press harder upon the enemy, insomuch that they will much sooner die than give ground; for the certainty that their children will be well looked after, when they are dead, frees them from all that anxiety concerning them, which often masters men of great courage; and thus they are animated by a noble and invincible resolution. Their skill in military affairs increases their courage; and the wise sentiments which according to the laws of their country, are instilled into

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them

them in their education, give additional vigour to their minds : for as they do not under-value life so as prodigally to throw it away, they are not so indecently fond of it, as to preserve it, by base and unbecoming methods. In the greatest heat of action the bravest of their youth, who have devoted themselves to that service, single out the General of their enemies, set on him either openly or by ambuscade ; pursue him every where, and when spent and wearied out, are relieved by others, who never give over the pursuit, either attacking him with close weapons when they can get near him, or with those which wound at a distance, when others get in between them : so that unless he secures himself by flight, they seldom fail at last to kill or to take him prisoner. When they have obtained a victory, they kill as few as possible, and are much more bent on taking many prisoners, than on killing those that fly before them : Nor do they ever let their men so loose in the pursuit of their enemies, as not to retain an entire body still in order ; so that if they have been forced to engage the last of their battalions, before they could gain the day, they will rather let their enemies all escape than pursue them, when their own army is in disorder ; remembering well what has often fallen out to themselves ; that when the main body of their army has been quite defeated and broken, when their enemies imagining the victory obtained, have let themselves loose into an irregular pursuit, a few of them that lay for a reserve, waiting a fit opportunity, have fallen on them in their chase, and when straggling in disorder, and apprehensive of no danger, but counting the day their own, have turned the whole

whole action, and wresting out of their hands a victory that seemed certain and undoubted, while the vanquished have suddenly become victorious.

It is hard to tell whether they are more dexterous in laying or avoiding ambushes: they sometimes seem to fly when it is far from their thoughts; and when they intend to give ground, they do it so, that it is very hard to find out their design. If they see they are ill posted, or are like to be overpowered by numbers, they then either march off in the night with great silence, or by some stratagem delude their enemies: if they retire in the day-time, they do it in such order, that it is no less dangerous to fall upon them in a retreat, than in a march. They fortify their camps with a deep and large trench; and throw up the earth that is dug out of it for a wall; nor do they employ only their slaves in this, but the whole army works at it, except those that are then upon the guard; so that when so many hands are at work, a great line and a strong fortification is finished in so short a time, that it is scarce credible. Their armour is very strong for defence, and yet is not so heavy as to make them uneasy in their marches; they can even swim with it. All that are trained up to war, practise swimming: both horse and foot make great use of arrows, and are very expert: they have no swords, but fight with a pole-axe that is both sharp and heavy, by which they thrust or strike down an enemy; they are very good at finding out warlike machines, and disguise them so well, that the enemy does not perceive them, till he feels the use of them; so that he cannot prepare such a defence as would render them

useless; the chief consideration had in the making them, is, that they may be easily carried and managed.

If they agree to a truce, they observe it so religiously, that no provocations will make them break it. They never lay their enemies country waste, nor burn their corn, and even in their marches they take all possible care, that neither horse nor foot may tread it down, for they do not know but that they may have use for it themselves. They hurt no man whom they find disarmed, unless he is a spy. When a town is surrendered to them, they take it into their protection: and when they carry a place by storm, they never plunder it, but put those only to the sword that opposed the rendering of it up, and make the rest of the garrison slaves, but for the other inhabitants, they do them no hurt; and if any of them had advised a surrender, they give them good rewards out of the estates of those that they condemn, and distribute the rest among their auxiliary troops, but they themselves take no share of the spoil.

When a war is ended, they do not oblige their friends to reimburse their expences, but they obtain them of the conquered, either in money, which they keep for the next occasion, or in lands, out of which a constant revenue is to be paid them; by many increases, the revenue which they draw out from several countries on such occasions, is now risen to above 700,000 ducats a year. They send some of their own people to receive these revenues, who have orders to live magnificently, and like princes, by which means they consume much of it upon the place; and either bring over the rest to Utopia, or lend it to that nation

nation in which it lies. This they most commonly do, unless some great occasion, which falls out but very seldom, should oblige them to call for it all. It is out of these lands that they assign rewards to such as they encourage to adventure on desperate attempts. If any prince that engages in war with them, is making preparations for invading their country, they prevent him, and make his country the seat of the war; for they do not willingly suffer any war to break in upon their island; and if that should happen, they would only defend themselves by their own people; but would not call for auxiliary troops to their assistance.

OF THE
RELIGIONS OF THE UTOPIANS.

THERE are several sorts of religions, not only in different parts of the island, but even in every town; some worshipping the sun, others the moon, or one of the planets: some worship such men as have been eminent in former times for virtue, or glory, not only as ordinary deities, but as the Supreme God: Yet the greater and wiser sort of them worship none of these, but adore one eternal, invisible, infinite, and incomprehensible Deity; as a Being that is far above all our apprehensions, that is spread over the whole universe, not by his bulk, but by his power and virtue: him they call the Father of all,

and acknowledge that the beginnings, the encrease, the progress, the vicissitudes, and the end of all things come only from him ; nor do they offer divine honours to any but to him alone. And indeed, though they differ concerning other things, yet all agree in this ; that they think there is one Supreme Being that made and governs the world, whom they call in the language of their country, Mithras. They differ in this, that one thinks the God whom he worships is this Supreme Being, and another thinks that his idol is that God ; but they all agree in one principle, that whoever is this Supreme Being, he is also that great essence, to whose glory and majesty all honours are ascribed by the consent of all nations.

By degrees, they fall off from the various superstitions that are among them, and grow up to that one religion that is the best and most in request ; and there is no doubt to be made, but that all the others had vanished long ago, if some of those who advised them to lay aside their superstitions, had not met with some unhappy accidents, which being considered as inflicted by heaven, made them afraid that the god whose worship had like to have been abandoned, had interposed, and revenged themselves on those who despised their authority.

After they had heard from us, an account of the doctrine, the course of life, and the miracles of Christ, and of the wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood, so willingly offered up by them, was the chief occasion of spreading their religion over a vast number of nations, it is not to be imagined how inclined they were to receive it. I shall not determine whether this proceeded

ceeded from any secret inspiration of God, or whether it was because it seemed so favourable to that community of goods, which is an opinion so particular, as well as so dear to them; since they perceived that Christ and his followers lived by that rule: and that it was still kept up in some communities among the sincerest sort of Christians. From which soever of these motives it might be, true it is that many of them came over to our religion, and were initiated into it by baptism. But as two of our number were dead, so none of the four that survived, were in priests orders; we therefore could only baptize them; so that to our great regret, they could not partake of the other sacraments, that can only be administered by priests: But they are instructed concerning them, and long most vehemently for them. They have had great disputes among themselves, whether one chosen by them to be a priest, would not be thereby qualified to do all the things that belong to that character, even though he had no authority derived from the pope; and they seemed to be resolved to choose some for that employment, but they had not done it when I left them.

Those among them that have not received our religion, do not fright any from it, and use none ill that goes over to it; so that all the while I was there, one man was only punished on this occasion. He being newly baptized, did, notwithstanding all that we could say to the contrary, dispute publicly concerning the Christian religion, with more zeal than discretion; and with so much heat, that he not only preferred our worship to theirs, but condemned all their rights as profane; and cried out against all that adhered

hered to them, as impious and sacrilegious persons, that were to be damned to everlasting burnings. Upon his having frequently preached in this manner, he was seized, and after trial, he was condemned to banishment, not for having disparaged their religion, but for his inflaming the people to sedition : for this is one of their most ancient laws, that no man ought to be punished for his religion. At the first constitution of their government, Utopus having understood, that before his coming among them, the old inhabitants had been engaged in great quarrels concerning religion, by which they were so divided among themselves, that he found it an easy thing to conquer them, since instead of uniting their forces against him, every different party in religion fought by themselves : after he had subdued them, he made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to it by the force of argument, and by amicable and modest ways, but without bitterness against those of other opinions ; but that he ought to use no other force but that of persuasion ; and was neither to mix with it reproaches nor violence ; and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

This law was made by Utopus, not only for preserving the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought the interest of religion itself required it. He judged it not fit to determine any thing rashly ; and seemed to doubt whether those different forms of religion might not all come from God, who might inspire men
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In a different manner, and be pleased with this variety ; he therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any man to threaten and terrify another to make him believe what did not appear to him to be true. And supposing that only one religion was really true, and the rest false, he imagined that the native force of truth would at last break forth and shine bright, if supported only by the strength of argument, and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind ; while, on the other hand, if such debates were carried on with violence and tumults, as the most wicked are always the most obstinate, so the best and most holy religion, might be choaked with superstition, as corn is with briars and thorns ; he therefore left men wholly to their liberty, that they might be free to believe as they should see cause ; only he made a solemn and severe law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature, as to think that our souls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed by chance, without a wise over-ruling Providence ; for they all formerly believed that there was a state of rewards and punishments to the good and bad after this life ; and they now look on those that think otherwise, as scarce fit to be counted men, since they degrade so noble a being as the soul, and reckon it no better than a beast's : thus they are far from looking on such men as fit for human society, or to be citizens of a well-ordered commonwealth ; since a man of such principles must needs, as oft as he dares do it, despise all their laws and customs : for there is no doubt to be made, that a man who is afraid of nothing but the law, and apprehends nothing
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after death, will not scruple to break through all the laws of his country, either by fraud or force, when by this means he may satisfy his appetites. They never raise any that hold these maxims, either to honours or offices, nor employ them in any public trust, but despise them, as men of base and sordid minds: yet they do not punish them, because they lay this down as a maxim, that a man cannot make himself believe any thing he pleases; nor do they drive any to dissemble their thoughts by threatenings, so that men are not tempted to lie or disguise their opinions; which being a sort of fraud, is abhorred by the Utopians: they take care indeed to prevent their disputing in defence of these opinions, especially before the common people: but they suffer, and even encourage them to dispute concerning them in private with their priests, and other grave men, being confident that they will be cured of those mad opinions, by having reason laid before them. There are many among them that run far to the other extreme, though it is neither thought an ill nor unreasonable opinion, and therefore is not at all discouraged. They think that the souls of beasts are immortal, though far inferior to the dignity of the human soul, and not capable of so great a happiness.

They are almost all of them very firmly persuaded, that good men will be infinitely happy in another state; so that though they are compassionate to all that are sick, yet they lament no man's death, except they see him loth to part with life; for they look on this as a very ill presage, as if the soul, conscious to itself of guilt, and quite hopeless, was afraid to leave the body, from some secret hints
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of approaching misery. They think that such a man's appearance before God, cannot be acceptable to him, who being called on, does not go out cheerfully, but is backward and unwilling, and is, as it were, dragged to it. They are struck with horror, when they see any die in this manner, and carry them out in silence, and with sorrow, and praying God that he would be merciful to the errors of the departed soul, they lay the body in the ground: but when any die cheerfully, and full of hope, they do not mourn for them, but sing hymns when they carry out their bodies, and commending their souls very earnestly to God: their whole behaviour is then rather grave than sad, they burn the body, and set up a pillar where the pile was made, with an inscription to the honour of the deceased. When they come from the funeral, they discourse of his good life, and worthy actions, but speak of nothing oftener and with more pleasure, than of his serenity at the hour of death. They think such respect paid to the memory of good men, is both the greatest incitement to engage others to follow their example, and the most acceptable worship that can be offered them; for they believe that though by the imperfection of human sight, they are invisible to us, yet they are present among us, and hear those discourses that pass concerning themselves. They believe it inconsistent with the happiness of departed souls, not to be at liberty to be where they will: and do not imagine them capable of the ingratitude of not desiring to see those friends, with whom they lived on earth in the strictest bonds of love and kindness: besides they are persuaded that good men after death

death have these affections, and all other good dispositions increased rather than diminished, and therefore conclude that they are still among the living, and observe all they say or do. From hence they engage in all their affairs with the greater confidence of success, as trusting to their protection; while this opinion of the presence of their ancestors is a restraint that prevents their engaging in ill designs.

They despise and laugh at auguries, and the other vain and superstitious ways of divination, so much observed among other nations; but have great reverence for such miracles as cannot flow from any of the powers of nature, and look on them as effects and indications of the presence of the Supreme Being, of which they say many instances have occurred among them; and that sometimes their public prayers, which upon great and dangerous occasions they have solemnly put up to God, with assured confidence of being heard, have been answered in a miraculous manner.

They think the contemplating God in his works, and the adoring him for them, is a very acceptable piece of worship to him.

There are many among them, that upon a motive of religion, neglect learning, and apply themselves to no sort of study; nor do they allow themselves any leisure time, but are perpetually employed, believing that by the good things that a man does he secures to himself that happiness that comes after death. Some of these visit the sick; others mend highways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, or dig turf, gravel, or stones. Others fell and
cleave

cleave timber, and bring wood, corn and other necessities, on carts into their towns. Nor do these only serve the public, but they serve even private men, more than the slaves themselves do: for if there is any where a rough, hard, and sordid piece of work to be done, from which many are frightened by the labour and loathsomeness of it, if not the despair of accomplishing it, they cheerfully, and of their own accord, take that to their share; and by that means, as they ease others very much, so they afflict themselves, and spend their whole life in hard labour: and yet they do not value themselves upon this, nor lessen other people's credit, to raise their own; but by their stooping to such servile employments, they are so far from being despised, that they are so much the more esteemed by the whole nation.

Of these there are two sorts: some live unmarried and chaste, and abstain from eating any sort of flesh; and thus weaning themselves from all the pleasures of the present life, which they account hurtful, they pursue, even by the hardest and painfullest methods possible, that blessedness which they hope for hereafter; and the nearer they approach to it, they are the more cheerful and earnest in their endeavours after it. Another sort of them is less willing to put themselves to much toil, and therefore prefer a married state to a single one; and as they do not deny themselves the pleasure of it, so they think the begetting of children is a debt which they owe to human nature, and to their country: nor do they avoid any pleasure that does not hinder labour; and therefore eat flesh so much the more willingly, as they find that by this means they
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are the more able to work : the Utopians look upon these as the wiser sect, but they esteem the others as the most holy. They would indeed laugh at any man, who from the principles of reason, would prefer an unmarried state to a married, or a life of labour to an easy life : but they reverence and admire such as do it from the motives of religion. There is nothing in which they are more cautious, than in giving their opinion positively concerning any sort of religion. The men that lead those severe lives, are called in the language of their country *Brutheskas*, which answers to those we call religious orders.

Their priests are men of eminent piety, and therefore they are but few, for there are only thirteen in every town, one for every temple ; but when they go to war, seven of these go out with their forces, and seven others are chosen to supply their room in their absence ; but these enter again upon their employment when they return ; and those who served in their absence, attend upon the high-priest, till vacancies fall by death ; for there is one set over all the rest. They are chosen by the people as the other magistrates are, by suffrages given in secret, for preventing of factions : and when they are chosen, they are consecrated by the college of priests. The care of all sacred things, the worship of God, and an inspection into the manners of the people, are committed to them. It is a reproach to a man to be sent for by any of them, or for them to speak to him in secret, for that always gives some suspicion : all that is incumbent on them, is only to exhort and admonish the people ; for the power of correcting and punishing ill men, belongs wholly to the prince, and to the

the other magistrates: the severest thing that the priest does, is the excluding those that are desperately wicked from joining in their worship: There is not any sort of punishment more dreaded by them than this, for as it loads them with infamy, so it fills them with secret horrors, such is their reverence to their religion; nor will their bodies be long exempted from their share of trouble; for if they do not very quickly satisfy the priests of the truth of their repentance, they are seized on by the senate, and punished for their impiety. The education of youth belongs to the priests, yet they do not take so much care of instructing them in letters, as in forming their minds and manners aright: they use all possible methods to infuse very early into the tender and flexible minds of children, such opinions as are both good in themselves, and will be useful to their country: for when deep impressions of these things are made at that age, they follow men through the whole course of their lives, and conduce much to preserve the peace of the government, which suffers by nothing more than by vices that rise out of ill opinions. The wives of their priests are the most extraordinary women of the whole country; sometimes the women themselves are made priests, though that falls out but seldom; nor are any but antient widows chosen into that order.

None of the magistrates have greater honour paid them, than is paid the priests; and if they should happen to commit any crime, they would not be questioned for it: their punishment is left to God, and to their own consciences: for they do not think it lawful to lay hands on any man,

how wicked soever he his, that has been in a peculiar manner dedicated to God ; nor do they find any great inconvenience in this, both because they have so few priests, and because these are chosen with much caution, so that it must be a very unusual thing to find one who merely out of regard to his virtue, and for his being esteemed a singularly good man, was raised up to so great a dignity, degenerate into corruption and vice : and if such a thing should fall out, for man is a changeable creature ; yet there being few priests, and these having no authority, but what rises out of the respect that is paid them, nothing of great consequence to the public can proceed from the indemnity that the priests enjoy.

They have indeed very few of them, lest greater numbers sharing in the same honour, might make the dignity of that order which they esteem so highly, to sink in its reputation : they also think it difficult to find out many of such an exalted pitch of goodness, as to be equal to that dignity which demands the exercise of more than ordinary virtues. Nor are the priests in greater veneration among them, than they are among their neighbouring nations, as you may imagine by that which I think gives occasion for it.

When the Utopians engage in battle, the priests who accompany them to the war, apparelled in their sacred vestments, kneel down during the action, in a place not far from the field ; and lifting up their hands to Heaven, pray, first for peace, and then for victory to their own side, and particularly that it may be gained without the effusion of much blood on either side, and when the victory turns

turns to their side, they run in among their own men to restrain their fury ; and if any of their enemies see them, or call to them, they are preserved by that means : and such as can come so near them as to touch their garments, have not only their lives, but their fortunes secured to them : it is upon this account that all the nations round about consider them so much, and treat them with such reverence, that they have been often no less able to preserve their own people from the fury of their enemies, than to save their enemies from their rage : for it has sometimes fallen out, that when their armies have been in disorder, and forced to fly, so that their enemies were running upon the slaughter and spoil, the priests by interposing, have separated them from one another, and stopped the effusion of more blood ; so that by their mediation, a peace has been concluded on very reasonable terms ; nor is there any nation about them so fierce, cruel, or barbarous, as not to look upon their persons as sacred and inviolable.

The first and the last day of the month, and of the year, is a festival : they measure their months by the course of the moon ; and their years by the course of the sun : the first days are called in their language the Cynemernes, and the last the Trapemernes ; which answers in our language to the festival that begins, or ends the season.

They have magnificent temples, that are not only nobly built, but extremely spacious ; which is the more necessary, as they have so few of them : they are a little dark within, which proceeds not from any error in the architecture, but is done with design ; for their priests think that too much light dissipates the thoughts, and that a more mo-

derate degree of it, both recollects the mind, and raises devotion. Though there are many different forms of religion among them, yet all these, how various soever, agree in the main point, which is the worshipping the Divine Essence ; and therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their temples, in which the several persuasions among them may not agree ; for every sect performs those rites that are peculiar to it, in their private houses, nor is there any thing in the public worship, that contradicts the particular ways of those different sects. There are no images for God in their temples, so that every one may represent him to his thoughts, according to the way of his religion ; nor do they call this one God by any other name, but that of Mithras, which is the common name by which they all express the Divine Essence, whatsoever otherwise they think it to be ; nor are there any prayers among them, but such as every one of them may use without prejudice to his own opinion.

They meet in their temples on the evening of the festival that concludes a season : and not having yet broke their fast, they thank God for their good success during that year or month, which is then at an end : and the next day, being that which begins the new season, they meet early in their temples, to pray for the happy progress of all their affairs during that period, upon which they then enter. In the festival which concludes the period, before they go to the temple, both wives and children fall on their knees before their husbands or parents, and confess every thing in which they have either erred or failed in their duty, and beg pardon for it : thus all little dis-

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contents in families are removed, that they may offer up their devotions with a pure and serene mind ; for they hold it a great impiety to enter upon them with disturbed thoughts ; or with a consciousness of their bearing hatred or anger in their hearts to any person whatsoever ; and think that they should become liable to severe punishments, if they presumed to offer sacrifices without cleansing their hearts, and reconciling all their differences. In the temples, the two sexes are separated, the men go to the right hand, and the women to the left : and the males and females all place themselves before the head, and master or mistress of that family to which they belong ; so that those who have the government of them at home, may see their deportment in public : and they intermingle them so, that the younger and the older may be set by one another ; for if the younger sort were all set together, they would perhaps trifle away that time too much, in which they ought to beget in themselves that religious dread of the Supreme Being, which is the greatest, and almost the only incitement to virtue.

They offer up no living creature in sacrifice, nor do they think it suitable to the Divine Being, from whose bounty it is that these creatures have derived their lives, to take pleasure in their deaths, or the offering up their blood. They burn incense, and other sweet odours, and have a great number of wax lights during their worship ; not out of any imagination that such oblations can add any thing to the Divine Nature, which even prayers cannot do ; but as it is a harmless and pure way of worshipping God ; so they think those sweet favours and lights, to-

gether with some other ceremonies, by a secret and unaccountable virtue, elevate men's souls, and inflame them with greater energy and cheerfulness during the divine worship.

All the people appear in the temples in white garments ; but the priest's vestments are parti-coloured ; and both the work and colours are wonderful : they are made of no rich materials, for they are neither embroidered, nor set with precious stones, but are composed of the plumes of several birds, laid together with so much art, and so neatly, that the true value of them is far beyond the costliest materials. They say, that in the ordering and placing those plumes, some dark mysteries are represented, which pass down among their priests in a secret tradition concerning them ; and that they are as hieroglyphics, putting them in mind of the blessings that they have received from God, and of their duties, both to him and to their neighbours. As soon as the priest appears in those ornaments, they all fall prostrate on the ground, with so much reverence and so deep a silence, that such as look on, cannot but be struck with it, as if it were the effect of the appearance of a deity. After they have been for some time in this posture, they all stand up, upon a sign given by the priest, and sing hymns to the honour of God, some musical instruments playing all the while. These are quite of another form than those used among us : but, as many of them are much sweeter than ours, so others are made use of by us. Yet in one thing they very much exceed us ; all their music, both vocal and instrumental, is adapted to imitate and express the passions ; and is so happily suited to every

every occasion, that whether the subject of the hymn be cheerful, or formed to soothe or trouble the mind, or to express grief or remorse ; the music takes the impression of whatever is represented, affects and kindles the passions, and works the sentiments deep into the hearts of the hearers. When this is done, both priests and people offer up very solemn prayers to God in a set form of words ; and these are so composed, that whatsoever is pronounced by the whole assembly, may be likewise applied by every man in particular to his own condition ; in these they acknowledge God to be the author and governor of the world, and the fountain of all the good they receive ; and therefore offer up to him their thanksgiving ; and in particular, bless him for his goodness in ordering it so, that they are born under the happiest government in the world, and are of a religion which they hope is the truest of all others : but if they are mistaken, and if there is either a better government, or a religion more acceptable to God, they implore his goodness to let them know it, vowing that they resolve to follow him whithersoever he leads them : but if their government is the best, and their religion the truest, then they pray that he may fortify them in it, and bring all the world, both to the same rules of life, and to the same opinions concerning himself ; unless, according to the unsearchableness of his mind, he is pleased with a variety of religions. Then they pray that God may give them an easy passage at last to himself ; not presuming to set limits to him, how early or late it should be ; but if it may be wished for, without derogating from his supreme authority, they desire to be quickly delivered, and to be

taken to himself, though by the most terrible kind of death, rather than to be detained long from seeing him, by the most prosperous course of life. When this prayer is ended, they all fall down again upon the ground, and after a little while they rise up; go home to dinner, and spend the rest of the day in diversion or military exercises.

Thus have I described to you, as particularly as I could, the constitution of that commonwealth, which I do not only think the best in the world, but indeed the only commonwealth that truly deserves that name. In all other places, it is visible, that while people talk of a common wealth, every man only seeks his own wealth; but there, where no man has any property, all men zealously pursue the good of the public. And indeed it is no wonder to see men act so differently; for in other commonwealths, every man knows, that unless he provides for himself, how flourishing soever the commonwealth may be, he must die of hunger; so that he sees the necessity of preferring his own concerns to the public. But in Utopia, where every man has a right to every thing, they all know, that if care is taken to keep the public stores full, no private man can want any thing; for among them there is no unequal distribution, so that no man is poor, none in necessity; and though no man has any thing, yet they are all rich; for what can make a man so rich, as to lead a serene and cheerful life, free from anxieties; neither apprehending want himself, nor vexed with the endless complaints of his wife? He is not afraid of the misery of his children, nor is he con-
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triving how to raise a portion for his daughters, but is secure in this, that both he and his wife, his children and grand-children, to as many generations as he can fancy, will all live, both plentifully and happily; since among them there is no less care taken of those who were once engaged in labour, but grow afterwards unable to follow it, than there is elsewhere of these that continue still employed. I would gladly hear any man compare the justice that is among them with that of all other nations; among whom, may I perish, if I see any thing that looks either like justice or equity. For what justice is there in this, that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man, that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendor upon what is so ill acquired, and a mean man—a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder even than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labours so necessary, that no commonwealth could hold out a year without them, can only earn so poor a livelihood, and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beasts is much better than their's? For as the beasts do not work so constantly, so they feed almost as well, and with more pleasure, and have no anxiety about what is to come; whilst these men are depressed by a barren and fruitless employment, and tormented with the apprehensions of want in their old age; since that which they get by their daily labour does but maintain them at present, and is consumed as fast as it comes in; there is no overplus left to lay up for old age.

Is not that government both unjust and ungrateful, that is so prodigal of its favors to those that are called gentlemen, or goldsmiths, or such others who are idle, or live either by flattery or by contriving the arts of vain pleasure; and, on the other hand, takes no care of those of a meaner sort, such as ploughmen, colliers, and smiths, without whom it could not subsist? But after the public has reaped all the advantage of their service, and they come to be oppressed with age, sickness, and want, all their labours, and the good they have done, is forgotten; and all the recompence given them is, that they are left to die in great misery. The richer sort are often endeavoring to bring the hire of labourers lower, not only by their fraudulent practices, but by the laws which they procure to be made to that effect: so that though it is a thing most unjust in itself, to give such small rewards to those who deserve so well of the public, yet they have given those hardships the name and colour of justice, by procuring laws to be made for regulating them.

Therefore I must say, that, as I hope for mercy, I can have no other notion of all the other governments that I see or know, than that they are a conspiracy of the rich, who, on pretence of managing the public, only pursue their private ends, and devise all the ways and arts they can find out; first, that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill acquired, and then, that they may engage the poor to toil and labour for them at as low rates as possible, and oppress them as much as they please. And if they can but prevail to get these contrivances established,

blished, by the show of public authority, which is considered as the representative of the whole people, then they are accounted laws. Yet these wicked men, after they have, by a most insatiable covetousness, divided that among themselves with which all the rest might have been well supplied, are far from that happiness that is enjoyed among the Utopians: for the use as well as the desire of money being extinguished, much anxiety, and great occasions of mischief, is cut off with it. And who does not see, that the frauds, thefts, robberies, quarrels, tumults, contentions, seditions, murders, treacheries, and witchcrafts, which are indeed rather punished than restrained by the severities of law, would all fall off, if money were not any more valued by the world? Men's fears, solitudes, cares, labours, and watchings, would all perish in the same moment with the value of money. Even poverty itself, for the relief of which money seems most necessary, would fall. But, in order to the apprehending this aright, take one instance:

Consider any year that has been so unfruitful that many thousands have died of hunger; and yet, if at the end of that year a survey was made of the granaries of all the rich men that have hoarded up the corn, it would be found that there was enough among them to have prevented all that consumption of men that perished in misery; and that if it had been distributed among them, none would have felt the terrible effects of that scarcity: so easy a thing would it be to supply all the necessities of life, if that blessed thing called money, which is pretended
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to be invented for procuring them was not really the only thing that obstructed their being procured!

I do not doubt but rich men are sensible of this, and that they well know how much a greater happiness it is to want nothing necessary, than to abound in many superfluities; and to be rescued out of so much misery, than to abound with so much wealth. And I cannot think but the sense of every man's interest, added to the authority of Christ's commands, who as he was infinitely wise, knew what was best, and was not less good in discovering it to us, would have drawn all the world over to the laws of the Utopians, if pride, that plague of human nature, that source of so much misery, did not hinder it: for this vice does not measure happiness so much by its own conveniencies, as by the miseries of others; and would not be satisfied with being thought a goddess, if none were left that were miserable, over whom she might insult. Pride thinks it's own happiness shines the brighter, by comparing it with the misfortunes of other persons; that by displaying it's own wealth, they may feel their poverty the more sensibly. This is that infernal serpent that creeps into the breasts of mortals, and possesses them too much to be easily drawn out: and therefore I am glad that the Utopians have fallen upon this form of government, in which I wish that all the world could be so wise as to imitate them: for they have indeed laid down such a scheme and foundation of policy, that as men live happily under it, so it is like to be of great continuance; for they having rooted out of the minds of their people, all the seeds, both of ambition and faction, there is no danger of
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any commotions at home ; which alone has been the ruin of many states, that seemed otherwise to be well secured ; but as long as they live in peace at home, and are governed by such good laws, the envy of all their neighbouring princes, who have often though in vain attempted their ruin, will never be able to put their state into any commotion or disorder.

When Raphael had thus made an end of speaking, though many things occurred to me, both concerning the manners and laws of that people, that seemed very absurd, as well in their way of making war, as in their notions of religion, and divine matters ; together with several other particulars, but chiefly what seemed the foundation of all the rest, their living in common, without the use of money, by which all nobility, magnificence, splendour, and majesty, which, according to the common opinion, are the true ornaments of a nation, would be quite taken away ; yet since I perceived that Raphael was weary, and was not sure whether he could easily bear contradiction, remembering that he had taken notice of some, who seemed to think they were bound in honour to support the credit of their own wisdom, by finding out something to censure in all other men's inventions, besides their own ; I only commended their constitution, and the account he had given of it in general ; and so taking him by the hand, carried him to supper, and told him I would find out some other time for examining this subject more particularly, and for discoursing more copiously upon it ; and indeed I shall be glad to embrace an opportunity of doing it. In the mean while,

while, though it must be confessed that he is both a very learned man, and a person who has obtained a great knowledge of the world, I cannot perfectly agree to every thing he has related ; however, there are many things in the commonwealth of Utopia, that I rather wish, than hope, to see followed in our governments.



FINIS

